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Thesis

The Election of Andrew Jackson, 1828

Submitted by

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Part I.

I. Introduction:

In 1776 the dissatisfied colonies severed relations with England and voiced their sentiments in the Declaration of Independence. "All men are created equal," they proclaimed. Only thirteen years later some of these same "Fathers of the Country" about-faced in their sentiments and set up a government under the Constitution of the United States, which protected property more than people. An elaborate scheme of indirection was invented to prevent the mass of the people from making their influence felt in the highest places.

Immediately there were developed two classes - the "poor who are destined to labor; and the rich, who by the advantages of education, independence, and leisure, are qualified for superior stations."[1]

From 1789 on to the period covered by this study, office-holding was the prerogative of the latter group. The Randolphs, the Jeffersons, and the Madisons were all related. Aaron Burr established the political system of New York and we find his son-in-law the governor of South Carolina. A Randolph was the wife of Gouverneur Morris. John Adams was the second president and his son, John Quincy Adams, was the sixth.

This was not an accident nor due to the irresistible demand of the people. This group was intrenched. In most states there were property qualifications for voting for members of the

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1 Early writing of Adams quoted in the "Telegraph Extra" July 12, 1828.

House, and the Senators were chosen by the state legislatures. Caucuses in these two bodies chose the candidates for president and none other could obtain the nomination. From the time of Washington there was always an "heir apparent" and, except in the case of John Adams and his son, it was the secretary of state.

By 1820 there was considerable discontent relative to these conditions. Many men of wealth and ability were without the pale and resented being governed by a clique to which they were not admitted. The frontiersman, always an extreme individualist, disliked the officeholding aristocracy. The poor in the city were agitating through labor organizations so that in most states there was manhood suffrage before the election of Jackson.

The term of James Monroe is generally called the "Era of Good Feeling." It was the time, however, when these discontented groups were agitating. It is true that old party issues were dead and new ones had not yet been definitely formulated. The party incoherence gave a sense of unity and politics became a matter of personalities. There were no vital issues to unite the divergent groups. There were many men with presidential aspirations.

Those aspirants who felt they would not obtain the nomination of the Congressional caucus, tried to discredit the caucus. Henry Clay was one of these. The "Telegraph Extra" quoted an article from "The Kentucky Reporter" of June 15, 1818. The editor was a Mr. Smith, a "friend, connexion, and noted instrument" of Mr. Clay. It was one of many articles bitterly opposing the Secretary succession. It said, "Mr. Adams is designated by the President

and his presses as the heir apparent, the next successor to the Presidency. Since the principle was introduced, there has been a rapid degeneracy in the Chief Magistrate, and the prospect of still greater degeneracy is strong and alarming. Admit the people should acquiesce in the Presidential appointment of Mr. Adams to the high office, who again will he choose as his successor? Will it be Josiah Quincy, Harrison Gray Otis or Rufus King? An aristocrat, at least, if not a traitor, will be our portion."

Mr. Monroe succeeded himself in 1820 and of the many aspirants in 1824, the Congressional caucus, and therefore the presidental favor, went to Mr. Crawford of the cabinet.

II. The Election of 1824:

The election of 1824 found five candidates in the field. Mr. Crawford was the regular Congressional caucus nominee. There were John C. Calhoun and John Quincy Adams also members of the cabinet, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Each received the nomination of his own state as a preliminary. When the Democratic Convention of Pennsylvania deserted Calhoun for first place in favor of Jackson, Calhoun dropped out of the presidential race and became the vice-presidential candidate. This left four candidates in the field with no vital issues dividing them and each with his personal following.

As might have been expected under such conditions, the electoral college failed to give a majority to any one candidate. Jackson received ninety-nine votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. This automatically eliminated

Mr. Clay as only the first three names were submitted to the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay now held the strategic position.

The period between the vote by the electoral college and the choice by the House was one of intense political activity among the followers of the three candidates, the friends of all three manoeuvering for the Clay voters. Crawford was practically eliminated by his physical condition, leaving the contest to Jackson and Adams. The adherents of Jackson claimed that since he had received the greatest number of electoral votes, the choice should fall to him. They said that if Clay's western followers had a chance to vote for either Mr. Adams or Mr. Jackson, they would vote for Mr. Jackson. The legislature of Kentucky took a vote on the question and advised Clay to give the Kentucky vote to Jackson, but he felt in no way bound to obey their wishes. He finally decided to throw his strength with Adams, who according to all conservative standards, was the better qualified in every way for the high office. Clay also could hope to follow Adams but not Jackson, since two Westerners in succession would be politically unlikely. On the first ballot, Mr. Adams received the votes of thirteen of the twenty-four states and was elected.

Immediately a hue and cry went up from the Jackson forces. Some one came forward with a story of a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay, whereby Mr. Clay was to become Secretary of State in return for his support of Mr. Adams for the presidency.

Up to this time Mr. Jackson had held a rather passive attitude toward his candidacy. As late as 1821 he had scoffed at

the idea and is quoted as having said to a friend, "I know very well I am not fit to be president. I can rule men in a rough way but I am not fit to be president." [1] As to the "corrupt bargain" charge, he suspended judgment and congratulated Mr. Adams on his success. When however Mr. Adams offered Mr. Clay the position of Secretary of State, Jackson's attitude changed. He became fixed in his determination to "drive the rascals out" and to vindicate the "will of the people ."

The election of 1824 immediately provided a leader, a platform, and a popular idea for 1828. The party had no name, just - "friends of General Jackson ." The whole country soon took sides, newspapers were established or subsidized, local committees of correspondence were organized all over the country, central committees were appointed in each state, and able managers found. Office-holders were set to work. A party of opposition to Mr. Adams came rapidly into existence and grew in numbers and violence with every act of Mr. Adams and his advisers. The campaign to elect Mr. Jackson in 1828 was immediately launched, his own state of Tennessee renominating him in October 1825, before Mr. Adams had met Congress at all and before he had indicated, except in his inaugural address, what was to be his policy. He accepted the nomination in an address which he delivered before the two Houses of the legislature, and then he resigned his seat in the Senate. Other legislatures, conventions, caucuses, and public meetings in all parts of the country also nominated the General. He became the idol of the masses.

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[1] Ogg. p. 73.

Part II.

I. The Candidacy of Jackson:

In view of his public career and of the conditions which had determined the selection of the first five presidents, Jackson's candidacy was not only natural but inevitable. [1]

First it was natural. He stood high in the esteem of the people of Tennessee. He had held important local offices and had served acceptably, if not with prominence in the House of Representatives and the Senate. He had proved himself a born leader of men in the rough and ready frontier life. Despite his crude education, uncultivated tastes, he had somehow acquired dignity of manner. His sincerity and honesty were undoubted and his private morals singularly pure. His military reputation exceeded that of any living American and the soldier - candidate was ever popular in the United States. He was the product of the New West and he knew better than any man of his time the temper of the section whose idol he was to become and whose political creed he was to formulate and enforce.

It was inevitable. The extension of the suffrage gave the vote to the "masses." Jackson's qualities appealed to the masses, not to the classes. He was a great soldier and yet a man of the people. He was hostile to all gradations of power and privilege, and inclined to break through any official network interposed between himself and the rank and file subject to his command. He was unflinchingly and recklessly daring in the performance of what he felt his duty. He was faithful and devoted in his domestic life and absolutely unapproachable by pecuniary inducements. He was first and

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[1] McDonald p.28

last a democrat and never lost touch with the commonest people.

He had shown no desire for political life and had kept himself free from political entanglements. Not the least element of his strength was his entire independence of the political hierarchy which had controlled the federal government since the accession of Jefferson and which was not yet disposed to relinquish its power.

Jackson also had the fortune to live in the country when and where the lower strata of society were just coming to a full participation in political power and when and where high qualifications simply to discharge the duties of an office were beginning to be regarded by the majority of the people as a disqualification for officeholding. He also lived at a time when there was in the country a considerable group of would-be "president makers", who were excluded from the politically elect by the old leaders. They were capable, not over-scrupulous, and ingenious. They were adepts in mob psychology and geniuses in publicity.

As early as Nov. 20, 1815, Aaron Burr recognized Mr. Jackson's availability and wrote his son-in-law, Joseph Alston, governor of South Carolina a long letter denouncing Monroe and the caucus system and urging the nomination of Mr. Jackson.[1] John Quincy Adams records in his diary in December 1818 that there is a disposition among "a considerable party" to bring Jackson forward as a candidate, though he was confident that Jackson's recent course in the Florida War had alienated support.[2.] Jackson made light

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1. McDonald p.29.
2, Memoirs Dec. 1818.

of the suggestion as late as 1821 but his cause was skilfully urged by William B. Lewis whose consummate political activities were used to pave the way for the announcement of his candidacy in the 1824 election. Events in the election by the House made him a militant candidate for 1828.

II. The Jackson Party:

The body politic at this election was not divided by conflicting ideas on political principles. They were followers of Jackson or Anti-Jacksonians. The majority had no other interest in the results. It is true that some sections of the country wanted Jackson's views on tariff and internal improvements, but Jackson managed to "straddle" and his managers drowned serious consideration of national issues in "Huzza for Jackson," "The corrupt bargain," "Turn the rascals out," "Huzza for Jackson."

Mr. Adams, though elected by the House, was a minority president and knew his defeat in 1828 was certain unless he could attract to himself adherents of the defeated candidates. This he had neither the personality nor the inclination to do, leaving the field clear for the astute Jacksonian politicians. These politicians immediately organized to attract the leaderless elements to Jackson.

The Crawford following was swung to Jackson through Martin Van Buren who espoused the Jackson cause when Crawford was defeated, and Jackson's prospects looked bright for 1828. In March 1827 Van Buren and Churchill C. Cambreling, the two most prominent New York politicians, made a tour of the South on a "mission." Mr. Adams was not ignorant of the object of the tour. "They are generally understood

to have been electioneering, and Van Buren is now the great electioneering manager for General Jackson, as he was before the last election for Mr. Crawford."

In New York, the Bucktails went with Van Buren to Jackson and most of Clinton's following among the Democrats went grudgingly to Van Buren at Clinton's death. Due to the Morgan incident, the anti-Masonic vote was lost to Jackson, who was a Mason and "gloried in the fact ."

Georgia was stirred up over the Indian removal question and was incensed at John Quincy Adams for espousing the cause of the Indians. Jackson had established his reputation as an Indian fighter, which looked attractive to the Georgians, so Mr. Adams lost all chance of getting the Crawford following there.

In Massachusetts there were two factions in the Adams opposition. The Henshaw branch aligned itself with Jackson, but the Theodore Lyman, Jr. group[1] could find no common ground with the "brawler from Tennessee," as Adams called Jackson. The latter group, however, felt that an intellectual tone would be lent to the federal government with Calhoun in the vice-presidential chair. They therefore joined the Jackson forces through Calhoun.

Kentucky was the arena of a hard fought battle for adherents. It was Henry Clay's state. It had voted for Mr. Clay in 1824. He took personal charge of Mr. Adams' interests there to vindicate himself, but many deserted him because of his support of Mr. Adams in the House election. The Kentucky legislature had advised him to

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[1]Darling p. 62

throw his strength with Jackson.

Ohio, which had been in the Clay column in 1824, deserted him in 1828. According to a quotation from "The Telegraph Extra" "the chief object of supporting Mr. Clay in Ohio, as avowed by his friends in their Address of July 1824 was to break up the cabinet succession." Mr. Clay lost favor in Ohio for he had voted for "the very cabinet successor against whom the denunciation was directed."

The elements of the Jackson party were many and discordant. The backbone of it was the self-assertive, ambitious, western democracy. To that must be added a large number of men, "products of the continually advancing political activity among the less educated classes" who had entered political life in Monroe's second term. They joined the opposition as they had no claim to recognition from Mr. Adams. These two over-lapping elements were re-enforced by the followers of Calhoun after his alliance with Jackson, and by the followers of Crawford when his physical condition made it certain that he would not again be a candidate. It also attracted all those who disliked Adams or hated Clay.

With such a heterogeneous collection of followers no unity of principle was possible. It contained the high tariff advocates of Pennsylvania and the Northwest, and the low tariff advocates of the South. It contained those in the West who believed in internal improvements at the expense of the federal government and those in the East opposed to it. It contained the cultured , educated gentlemen of the Old South and the unlettered men of the frontier

and of the city. Its main strength however was the "masses," the newly enfranchised "mob," which until now had not been politically articulate. The banks, the manufacturies, the counting houses, the drawing rooms, the pulpit, and the seats of education were with Adams, but the new politician centered his efforts on the masses whose force had never yet been tapped. With appeals to the prejudices and aspirations of the "peepul," the new politicians molded these politically untamed into a Jackson Party.

III. Social and Political Conditions 1800-1828:

It is unwise to lay the election of Jackson in 1828 solely to astute politicians. Conditions in the country had changed to the point of revolution in the last two decades. The frontier had been extended, new states had been formed and admitted to the Union, and state constitutions of the older states had been replaced by new ones or amended.

The United States in 1830 was still rural. There were twenty-six towns of eight thousand or over. The urban population was only 6.7% of the total. The predominating element was English. The westward migration after 1815 was composed of the restless element for whom settled communities in the East were too confined - not of aliens from Europe. They were the choicest and most vigorous men of New England, New York,and Pennsylvania. Most of them were poor or of moderate means but industrious, intelligent, brave, resourceful, seeking in the new lands a freer political life and a wider industrial opportunity.

The frontiersman had always differed from his neighbor in

the more sttled East in political, social, economic and even in religious life. With all the perils and privations of the wilderness, he enjoyed unrestrained liberty. Each man of necessity was self-sufficient and became conscious of his equality with his scattered neighbors. Being far from the centers of legal restraint and of social conventions, he became an extreme individualist. He objected to absentee government and control by an aristocratic office-holding body.

The Constitutions adopted by the new frontier states were extremely democratic, throwing aside religious and property qualifications and basing their government on manhood suffrage. Mississippi was the only exception and there a man had to be either a taxpayer or a militiaman to vote, but that included practically the entire white male population. Apportionment of legislators was based on the white population so that it was the rule of the majority rather than of property.

In the old states prior to 1800 Connecticut had the most complete expression of Federalism and conservatism. "Innovations were frowned upon by the governing class in which the Congregational clergy was powerful."[1] An illustration will show how powerful. At the counting of votes for governor there was always a procession of at least one hundred clergymen. This was followed by a public dinner at state expense to the clergymen present.

In 1804 a meeting of Republicans was held in Hartford at which Abraham Bishop delivered an oration so radical that it alarmed the Federalists. He pointed out the methods pursued by the aris-

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1 Penman p. 17.

tocratic oligarchy to maintain their power in the state and suggested the formation of a new Constitution to correct the evil. The federalists tried to alarm the farmers with a freehold vote. "Universal suffrage or the extension of the suffrage," they said, "never yet 'failed to bring with it those triple horrors, Catholics, Irishmen, and Democratic rule.' " [1]

The same conservative spirit was manifest in Massachusetts at the same time. In 1804 the Federalists waged a bitter campaign to keep the state in the Federalist column. For political purposes they had the presidential electors chosen on a general ticket, but they misjudged the trend of public opinion, and the device swung the state into the Republican column for the first time.

The war of 1812 diverted attention to national affairs and the "era of good feeling" which followed it "marked the decline of party spirit and the absorption of the Federalists in the Republican Party." [2] In 1820 Mr. Monroe received all the electoral votes but one. This vote is misleading. It merely meant that old issues and old parties had disappeared and new ones had not had time to be thoroughly formulated.

This "era of good feeling" was marked by the growth of the democratic movement and the extension of the franchise. The ideal of democracy spread from the West and its adoption was spurred on by the report of the Peterloo Massacre 1819 in England at which the populace demanded equal representation or death.

In Connecticut after 1812 the domination of the Congregational clergy was attacked by a combination of religious and political

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1. Penman p.86
2. Penman p.92

forces. Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians had a common grievance against the relations of the Congregational Church and the State. The alliance of the Episcopalians and Dissenters against the dominant clergy and the Federalists gives the key the internal politics of the State at the opening of the 1819-1829 period.

In 1816 a new party first called the "American" and later the "American and Toleration" was formed to oppose the Congregational hierarchy. It succeeded in electing only one of its candidates, a man named Ingersoll, for deputy-governor that year. In 1817 it elected its candidate for governor, Oliver Wolcott. The next year it obtained complete control of the government and a majority over the Federalists in the House of Representatives.[1] The principal business of the year was the calling of a constitutional convention to charge the frame of government. On Sept. 18, 1818 a new constitution was ratified lessening the property qualifications for franchise and abolishing religious disabilities.[2] In 1820 a Republican governor was elected by a decisive vote.

In New Hampshire the Toleration Act of 1819 was the result of a union of the anti-Congregational denominations with the Republicans and it destroyed the ascendency of the Federalists.

In Massachusetts the franchise was given to taxpayers and militiamen in 1821 but it was 1833 before there was a complete separation of church and state.

Eastern Maine, northern Vermont, and New Hampshire and the Berkshire section of Massachusetts showed a tendency toward democracy.

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1. Penman p.93
2. " p.94

Southern New England was the stronghold of Federalism and Congregationalism.

In New York State a popular uprising similar to that in Connecticut culminated in the calling of a Constitutional convention in 1821. Van Buren was the leader. Under the old constitution of 1777 the franchise was limited to freeholders and actual tenants. Freeholders worth fifty dollars voted for representatives, but it required an unencumbered freehold of two hundred fifty dollars to vote for governor or senator. By this arrangement more than half the male inhabitants of New York were excluded from the franchise as late as 1821.[1]

The question of universal suffrage was complicated by the presence of fifty thousand colored people and by the remnant of slavery which was passing through a gradual emancipation. The new Constitution which was ratified by the people in 1821, abolished property qualifications for voting and conferred the franchise on every man with six months' residence "who had paid taxes, or served in the militia, or worked on the highways."[2] Even Van Buren was against universal suffrage fearing the vote of New York City and the ease with which corrupt politicians might control it. Despite these feelings, five years later an amendment was added to the Constitution granting suffrage to every male inhabitant who had resided in the state one year.[3]

Maryland adopted manhood suffrage in 1810. Pennsylvania gave the suffrage to every man who paid a county or state tax. In

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1. Penman p. 96
2. " p. 96
3. " p.100

the South[1] the tidewater counties retained the political power, refusing in most states to reapportion on the basis of numbers. In Virginia in 1825, the twenty counties in the upper country with over one hundred twenty-thousand free whites had no more weight than the twenty tidewater counties with only fifty thousand free whites. The six smallest counties had nearly ten times as much political power as the six largest and all reapportionment was made only to retain power in the slaveholding counties.

By 1826 the widening of the suffrage had enabled the working classes to emerge as a political force and caused their influence to be felt in the state elections. A Workingman's Party was formed to obtain social reforms but this later merged with the Democratic Party when the latter advocated the workingman's proposals. In the West where hired labor was negligible, economic problems influenced the political attitude of the leaders and were responsible in part for the American System. The farmers were won over to it as money was scarce and wheat sold for only twenty-five cents a bushel in Illinois in 1825.

The panic of 1819 hit the frontier the hardest. Its most important aspect was its relation to the forces of unrest and democratic change that were developing in the United States.[2] John C. Calhoun and John Quincy Adams, conversing on politics in 1820, had gloomy apprehensions. They noticed a "general mass of disaffection to government not concentrated in any particular direction, but ready to sieze upon any event and looking out anywhere for a leader."[3] They agreed there was a general impression that there

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1. Turner p.52 ff
2. " p.147
3. " p.147

was something radically wrong in the administration of the government. Jackson's political star arose in the midst of these conditions - extended suffrage, hard times, and a general feeling that something was wrong with the administration of the government.

In the West religion unconsciously served politics. The Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian denominations predominated. The people were swayed to emotional heights by camp meetings, revivals, and circuit riders. Mass enthusiasm was a habit with them and it was but a step from religious hysteria to political.

The success of Jacksonian Democracy therefore seems to have hinged on new social, political, and religious conditions of which the political were the most effective. By 1821 fifteen of the twenty-four states had manhood suffrage, absolute or virtual.[1] Not only was the franchise wider; it was also used more directly. In 1800 only six of the sixteen states chose presidential electors by popular vote. In 1828 Delaware and South Carolina were the only two of the twenty-four not to do so. This democratic tendency was limited by the use of the general ticket instead of the district one.

The election of Jackson showed the influence of the workingman's vote. In both Philadelphia and New York, they threw the weight of their votes on the side of Jackson and undoubtedly had much to do with placing Pennsylvania in the Democratic column. In New York the electors were chosen by congressional districts and Jackson received eighteen votes and Adams sixteen. The total vote of the state was very close. Jackson received 140,763 votes to

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1. Penman 104

135,413 for Adams. New York City went Democratic by four thousand votes and much of this majority is conceded to the working men. Every western state went for Jackson due to its democracy while the South's vote was his because of a fear of Adams' policies and a lack of knowledge of Jackson's.

IV. State Politics:

1. Demoractic Ferment in Conservative Massachusetts to 1828.

Massachusetts presents an ideal study of the conditions which made Jackson's success possible. The elements of discontent are visible and the play of forces is readily observed.

Massachusetts throughout its history had been controlled by and in the interests of an aristocratic class which had made its money in trade and in certain lines of manufacture; who were Unitarians or Calvinists in religion, and Federalists in politics; and who succeeded in barring those upon whom it frowned. Wealth constituted the main requirement, but it was an advantage if the wealth were acquired in pursuits befitting a gentlemen - shipping and textile manufacture.

This dominant group supported measures which furthered their interests and some of them went almost to the point of treason in the Hartford Convention when Jefferson's Embargo ruined their business. No Republican since Elbridge Gerry had been governor until in 1823 the Republicans defeated Harrison Gray Otis whose prominence in the Hartford Convention had given him unwelcome notoriety.

The poorer descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims generally followed the dominant group, being held in line by the

country "squires" and the orthodox Unitarian clergy.

Individuals from without the pale were admitted when meeting the requirements or when their services would be of assistance to the group. To this latter class belonged Daniel Webster who came to Boston from a New Hampshire farm. The Lawrences, Appletons, and others made several subscriptions of one hundred thousand dollars to maintain him in public life.[1] He was necessary to protect "our friends in Boston, their houses, their lands, their stocks ..." [2].

Federalism as such was losing its strength but society, business, religion, intellectual life, and politics were all clearly dominated by the conservative elements in 1824.

Opposed to this dominant element was a small but militant minority composed of wealthy and able leaders and their followers. These men like David Henshaw, a wholesale druggest, and his friend J. K. Simpson, a manufacturer of furniture, were either refused admission to the dominant group or preferred to remain without and to capitalize their exclusion to gain political influence over the poorer classes.

The opposition was composed of those who could not endure control by the political ring of lawyers and merchants: - 1st, the fishermen of Gloucester and Marblehead; the farmers of Essex and Middlesex Counties, both landowners and farm hands; and some Salem merchants like William Gray; 2nd, those who did not feel the tug of material interests as the rural folks of the Cape and the Islands; 3rd, the discontented of the middle and western farming sections, men

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1. Darling p. 16
2. " p.132

of the Shays' Rebellion type who were largely Baptists and Methodists; 4th, a small group who believed in the future of the United States and who preferred "union and nationalism" to the sectionalism of the Federalists;[1] and 5th, the newly arrived Irish immigrants.[2]

By 1828 enough Irish had arrived to compete with the native unskilled labor and to form a distinct group whose potential votes attracted the politicians. They followed the radical leaders, as their employers in the factories and on the railroads reminded them too much of the landlords of Ireland whose tyranny they had come to America to escape. Their arrival in large numbers revived the Puritan rancor toward Catholics. This was probably based on economic competition and social differences rather than on religion, but it created fuel for the opposition in the political field.

In 1821 David Henshaw and his friends established "The Statesman." As editor they obtained Nathaniel Green, who as a boy had been trained under Isaac Hill in the office of the New Hampshire "Patriot" at Concord. In the 1824 election it favored Crawford. Adams won easily.

In 1825 Levi Lincoln, an Adams Republican, became the gubernatorial candidate but as a non-partisan. Marcus Morton, an opponent of Adams in the 1824 election, was the candidate for lieutenant governor. Feeling that he was with a helpless minority, Morton soon resigned and accepted a vacant position on the Supreme Bench. Henshaw now changed his tactics and stopped his attacks on the President in the "Statesman's" editorials. As a result Henshaw was a candidate for the Senate and his friend Simpson for the House

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1. Darling p. 35
2. Darling p. 2

on the Adams ticket in 1826. This upset some of the old Federalists who tried to defeat Lincoln who was again a candidate for governor, but they failed.

Dissension soon arose between the Adams men and the Henshaw Democrats. Some said it was because the Adams organization had too large a share of representation in the State legislature. Another remarked: "Had Mr. Adams then turned the light of his countenance on these humble but earnest efforts for a share of his patronage, beyond a doubt the "Statesman" party would have been among his scattered host in 1828." [1]

The trouble lay deeper. The aristocratic control of Boston had brought about the formation of the "fifty associates" to purchase and restrict Boston real estate and had passed a law which virtually excluded small investors from the new manufacturing industries. A coalition between this group and the poorer democrats gathering about Henshaw could not last and it broke on the question of free bridges.

Henshaw and his associates in March 4, 1826 secured permission from the State legislature for a free bridge from Sea Street Boston to the mud flats of South Boston. The state would have the right to purchase the bridge on its completion. It would not compete with any toll bridge then in existence. In 1827 another group, the Warren Bridge Company, tried to get permission for a bridge from Boston to Charlestown. This bridge would compete with the toll bridge of the Charles River Bridge Company. Governor Lincoln vetoed it on the ground that it would violate another contract held by the

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1. Darling p. 48.

State. Turmoil resulted from the veto. In the next State election there were all sorts of Republicans - "Federal Republicans" of the Adams brand, "Federal Republicans" once for Crawford and now for Jackson, "Democratic-Republicans" favoring Adams, "Democratic Republicans" opposed to him, and "Free Bridge" men. The "Free Bridge" men and Henshaw were shut out in the Suffolk County election. Henshaw and the "Statesman" group were no longer accepted as Adams men as they were striking at property rights.

On the eve of the April elections in 1827 the conservatives organized. Daniel Webster was the principal speaker and he eulogized John Quincy Adams. Up to that time Adams had not considered Webster one of his supporters. He had gone over to Mr. Adams since the conservative and wealthy members of his constituency were Adams supporters. Thus the Federalist support was won for the new conservative National Republicans.

Henshaw and the "Statesman" group saw that they were being completely and irrevocably shut out from further political association with the Adams party.[1] They turned to accept overtures from the managers of Jackson's campaign. Henshaw let the Jackson managers know he was ready for an alliance in the approaching presidential campaign of 1828.

Henshaw and his friends opened the year with a Democratic dinner on January 8. All factions opposed to Mr. Adams were invited, but the Federalists were skeptical about associating with those liberals who had attacked the monopoly of the Charles River Bridge Company and did not attend, so it dwindled to a gathering

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1. Darling p. 54

of the "Statesman" faction. Henshaw's leadership was therefore unquestioned. The toasts were typically political:

"Daniel Webster, the would-be Solomon of New England. Like his proto-type of old, he has violated the second Commandment by causing to be made unto himself graven images."

Henshaw's: "The patriotic Dr. Channing - who eloquently enforced in time of war, the injunction of the Prince of Peace - 'Love your enemies.'"

At a Jackson rally later Henshaw burst forth with the following because the conservatives had joined Adams: "The New England Aristocracy, the 'Bulwark' of John Q. Adams - selfish and sectional in their acts - narrow-minded and short-sighted in their views, they are incapable of ruling beyond New England and unworthy of ruling in it."

Immediately after the Jackson Dinner the Boston liberals set out to organize a Jackson party throughout the State. The "Statesman" published a list of "Republican Jackson" candidates for state offices but only in the southern and western part of the State did they receive majorities. Gov. Lincoln received a seven to one vote over Marcus Morton, who had refused to accept a formal nomination.

All during the summer of 1828 Henshaw campaigned. In June the "Statesman" ridiculed the "legislative twaddlers" who had selected the Adams electors. On Sept. 6, it published a sworn statement of an old Federalist to the effect that Adams had plotted to destroy the Democratic Party. Two weeks later it declared that Adams'

antipathy to Free Masonry dated from his decision to use the Anti-Masonic feeling in New York to further his own election.

The "Statesman" began building up a Jackson constituency in Boston to supplement the rural following. An enemy of Henshaw said, "Proclaiming Jackson as an Irishman, they planted their flag in the menage of Broad Street, and holding him up as the champion of the poor against the rich, they received with 'hugs fraternal' the tenants of poor houses and penitentiaries."

Henshaw had been negotiating with the national Jacksonian organization for recognition of his "Statesman" group as the party machine in Massachusetts. Duff Green arrived in Boston in August to secure financial support for the national Democratic newspaper "The Telegraph" at Washington, which would be the official organ of the Democratic administration. Henshaw and his friends promised Duff Green six thousand dollars (paid after Jackson's election) for the "U. S. Telegraph." In return he promised to secure Calhoun's influence with Jackson in support of Henshaw for Collector of the Port of Boston, and two others as District Attorney and Postmaster of Boston. (All three men were appointed by Jackson to the respective places.)[1]

There were also in Massachusetts other Jackson followers who could not join with Henshaw. They were the "silk-stocking" Democrats headed by Theodore Lyman, Jr. They had nothing in common with Jackson but supported him because Calhoun's adherence gave assurance that the educated and "respectable part" of the country's citizens would have influence in the government.[2] This

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1. Darling p. 60
2. " p. 61

group gave Duff Green five thousand dollars for his paper. He made them no definite promises however. On August 9, Lyman and his group established the Boston "Jackson Republican." Calhoun sent best wishes.

Both groups were rivals for Jackson's patronage and that was an effective barrier to a fusion. Henshaw's committee had controlled arrangements for the January 8 dinner so Lyman would not attend. Duff Green was obliged to negotiate with them separately they were so divided. Rumors of his promises to the Henshaw group caused the rival aspirations to appear.

The two groups tried to subordinate their differences to defeat Adams. The President met the "Statesman's" attacks with contemptuous silence but he struck back at the slanderers of the old Federalists. He restated his charge that the Federalists in 1807 were guilty of high treason, but Lyman's "Jackson Republican" replied that Daniel Webster was equally guilty.

In spite of Lyman's best efforts he could not gain many Federalists for Jackson and his own advocacy was considered rank apostasy. In no county were Jackson electors able to win a majority, and in Hampden and Berkshire only were they given as much as thirty per cent of the total vote.

After the election Webster brought suit against Lyman for criminal libel. Webster chose to take Lyman's statement as a personal offense instead of a matter of politics. The jury could not agree and the case was finally dropped. After a year they forgot their grievances and were reconciled.

In the opinion of Bostonians, an illiterate and uncouth Westerner, who had been carried into the highest office on the shoulders of defaulters, paupers, and rascals, was acclaimed after his election by demagogues and leaders of riffraff of Boston itself. (It is interesting in this connection to note that later Harvard gave the "brawler from Tennessee" the degree of doctor of laws. 1833.)[1] Speaking of the Inauguration Day parade one remarked:

"All Broad Street (Irish section) was invited as the peculiar favorites of the Irish President." [2]

Possibly the Irish were drawn to the Henshaw organization through the personal influence of Andrew Dunlap, Harvard 1813, himself of Irish descent. But those who left Ireland to escape from a life in which they had slaved for the benefit of the wealthy landlord would easily see a reflection of that aristocracy in the wealthy merchants, manufacturers, and railroad builders who gave employment to the laborers of Massachusetts. The Irishman would naturally turn to the party of protest against the domination of the wealthy.

Despite the strenuous labors of the Henshaw and Lyman groups, they were able to attract a very small vote to Jackson. The official vote recorded for the election of Nov. 3, 1828 as found in the Massachusetts Archives, was:

Adams Electors	29,830
Jackson Electors	6,010

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1. Darling p. 111
2. " p. 67

IV.

2. New York State:

The New York State political situation of 1828 hinges on two facts: the gradual disappearance of the Federalists as a party after 1807, and the struggle for leadership of the state by the opposing factions of the Democratic Party. Each of these factions depended for its success on its ability to attract the old Federalist vote. DeWitt Clinton led one faction and Martin Van Buren led the other. In the 1824 election a new figure entered in the person of Thurlow Weed who took most of the conservative voters to John Quincy Adams.

DeWitt Clinton was the nephew of George Clinton. He entered the field of politics while George Clinton was at his height, with the result that DeWitt's political progress was more rapid. This political inheritance probably helps explain his superior attitude which made him feel that his elections were the result of the people's recognition of his ability and lessened his gratitude for the hard work of his campaign managers. He conceived the idea of the Erie Canal early in his career and managed to keep the idea alive. To that Canal he owes his present fame and many of his political successes. He was domineering and had a tendency to believe in destiny, which made him neglect his "political fences." His guiding principle seemed to be to acquire the presidency.

Martin Van Buren, on the other hand, had an obscure background. His progress depended on his own efforts, so he left nothing to fate. He was suave and subtile and was noted for his tact, diplomacy and ability. His motive was to be on the winning side

regardless of the candidate in order to control the patronage of the State.

Martin Van Buren, Joseph Monell, and William Miller were the leading Democratic lawyers in Columbia County, the middle district of the State. Elisha Williams, Thomas P. Grosvenor, and Jacob R. Van Rensselaer were the leading Federalist lawyers. Party hostility was so bitter between the two groups that there was no social intercourse between the leaders. Party spirit was carried so far that when William Van Ness, the Federalist judge, held the circuit, the Republicans, to avoid the effect of his partisanship, would not bring their cases before him if it were possible to avoid it; and on the other hand, when Ambrose Spencer held the circuit, the Federalists feared to meet his influence.[1]

William Van Ness was the leading spirit of the political clique which guided the Federal Party in the middle and western districts of New York. By combination with DeWitt Clinton they controlled the whole state. These men "denounced the War of 1812, supported DeWitt Clinton as the Peace Party candidate for president, sympathized with the Hartford Convention, and endeavored to carry the State of New York into that disloyal movement." [2]

Another faction of the Federal Party, including such men as John Jay and Rufus King, the most distinguished leaders in the State of New York, was not in the "peace party." To induce these men with Gouverneur Morris to support him for president DeWitt Clinton, through a friend, arranged for a meeting with Jay, King, and Morris to explain to them his political principles and the policy upon which he would

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1. Hamilton p. 42

2. " p. 42

administer the government if elected. He hoped by the force of his Democratic partisans and the fragments of the Federal Party to secure a majority of the electoral votes, and thus defeat Madison, the Republican candidate. Mr. Clinton among other things declared that the policy of the Federal party, which was that adopted by Washington and Adams, was the only course of measures which could promote the interest and preserve the honor of the country, and added emphatically, "I well know the views and purpose of the Democratic, the Jacobinparty, and have no confidence in them. As president I would administer the government under the system of Washington and Hamilton."[1] Mr. Jay, knowing that Mr. Clinton depended for his success on the Democratic Party, asked, "Do your Democratic friends know that these are your opinions and purposes?" Jay and King did not support Mr. Clinton. Mr. Clinton was not elected, but he came very near it.

Alexander says, "No statesman had lived in his day (1815) in whom the people had shown greater confidence. He still possessed the friendship of the best men and ripest scholars of the State."[2]

At about this time War-Governor Tempkins and Martin Van Buren were allied in opposition to DeWitt Clinton and his brother-in-law Ambrose Spencer as leaders of the Republican Party. Spencer nominated Clinton for governor in 1817 and Van Buren nominated Peter B. Porter. Van Buren had a subtle control over the legislature so Spencer suggested that Republicans living in counties sending Federalists to the legislature demand a voice in the nominating caucus. Van Buren knew that his device would nominate Clinton but

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1. Hamilton p.44 Memo made by Rufus King at time and read to Hamilton in 1822 or 1823.

2. Alexander p. 233.

he dared not defeat the reform. It was a severe blow to Van Buren. Tammany was against the Canal from the beginning. Its candidate Peter Porter was defeated when Clinton swept the State.

Clinton had learned nothing of the art of political management - he was a domineering, intolerant, uncompromising dictator - cold and distant to those not sounding his praises.[1] He assumed that he was the recognized head of the party and would not try to placate even the least objectionable of his opponents.

In January 1818, his rivals in the legislature began warring on Clinton for control of the party. Martin Van Buren was one. William Thompson was another. The latter was nominated Speaker of the House because all the Bucktails were present at the caucus and seventeen Clintonians were absent. At the election, Clinton's candidate Obadiah German, was elected by the legislature through the support of seventeen Federalists. This was just what the Bucktails wanted for it gave them a chance to say they were the real Republican Party - that Clinton had bolted the nomination of his own party. It definitely broke the party into two factions - the Clintonians and the Bucktails . It disturbed the leaders throughout the State and made the rank and file distrustful of Clinton. It consolidated his enemies, giving Van Buren the power to build up an organization.

Van Buren so managed the selection of a Council that it gave Clinton credit for controlling appointments without the least power to make them. Clinton's bitter enemy, Henry Seymour, was elected Canal Commissioner, making a majority of the Commission politically opposed to Clinton and in control of the Canal spoils.

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1. Alexander p.254

Van Buren then silenced the Bucktails opposition to the Canal to take away Clinton's main hold on the people.[1]

In 1820 Rufus King was candidate for election as United States Senator. Clinton did not favor King, a Federalist who did not support Clinton's aspirations, but was cautious about opposing him though he had deeplaid schemes to defeat him. The Bucktails had no candidate and would not take a Clinton one so Van Buren sent a secret letter to each Bucktail to vote for King. Van Buren knew the old Federalist Party was likely to split and did not want all of it to go to Clinton, who had already appointed a Federalist an attorney general. King was elected. He became very confidential with Van Buren though he would not join the Bucktails.

By 1820 the Administration at Washington recognized the Bucktails as the regular Republican Party and showered offices among them. Clinton's was a personal party and on the Canal issue he was again elected governor in 1820 over the Bucktail candidate, War Governor Tompkins.

In 1820 Van Buren was elected to the United States Senate, thus giving him an opportunity to become a national figure. Clinton sought to defeat him by compelling every Federalist and Clintonian save one to vote for Nathan Sanford, also a Bucktail, whose term had just expired. Tammany was too well organized to be divided by intrigue so Van Buren won.

By this time too, the Council of Appointment was Bucktail and left only one Clintonian in office. This Council of Appointment was a powerful machine. Under the Constitution of 1777, which was still in force, there was to be a Council of Appointment to limit

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[1] Alexander p. 261

the executive. The State was divided into four districts and one senator from each district was chosen by the House of Representatives to serve in this council. In 1821 the council appointed eight thousand two hundred eighty-seven military officers and six thousand six hundred sixty-three civil officers and justices of the peace. This concentrated the power in the hands of the dominant party and gave meaning to the phrase "To the victor belongs the spoils." It led to the building up of a political machine by the use of offices, from the lowest to the highest, as currency for political trading. When delegates from local units met in convention, there was agreement about the order in which the favorite sons should receive office. It developed a race of managing politicians and campaigns tended to become struggles between personal elements for power rather than contests on political issues. When the Council of Appointment and the Council of Revision were abolished in the new Constitution of 1821, presumably to transfer the power to the people, the "Albany Regency" controlled the political machinery as effectively as before.

Among the new Bucktail office holders were Attorney-general Samuel A. Tolcott, Adjutant-general William L. Marcy and District Attorney for Albany County F. Butler. They were men of a fine sense of honor. These men changed the existing political system. Formerly the local boss distributed the patronage, regardless of personal fitness. These men introduced higher standards of political morality, a better system of party discipline, and refused to tolerate unworthy men. Their control of the patronage and of the party's policy was so absolute they were called the Albany Regency.

At about this time the people upstate and in New York City demanded a reform of the Constitution. The politicians were not enthusiastic until Clinton was re-elected governor in 1820. Then the Bucktails wanted a convention with unlimited power.

The Convention was in session from August 28 to November 10, 1821 and the Bucktails had a majority. They favored a broader suffrage, enlarged local government, and a more popular judicial system. Van Buren's speech in the Convention summarized the changes which were finally adopted. The vote was given to every male citizen, twenty-one years of age who had resided six months in the State and who within a year had paid taxes or road assessments or had enrolled or served in the militia. Van Buren was against universal manhood suffrage as it would cheapen the invaluable right and would make elections in New York City a curse not a blessing. He was against the election of justices of the peace - that would eliminate many faithful benchmen. He believed in limiting the power of the voter.[1]

By 1822 the Regency was so strong that nomination for senator or assemblyman was equivalent to election. They were able to defeat John W. Taylor of Saratoga for Speaker of the seventeenth Congress because he was friendly to Clinton in 1822. "Many politicians like John Woodworth, Ambrose Spencer, and James Talmadge had played fast and loose as the chances of the Bucktail and Clintonian had gone up and down."[2]

In the election of 1824 Van Buren and the Bucktails favored Crawford and controlled a majority of the votes in the Senate. A demand arose from the Clay and Adams admirers for the election of the presidential electors by the people. The "People's Party" was

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1. Alexander p.312
2. " p.315

formed demanding the reform. Governor Yates, under the influence of Van Buren put off the question by saying, "An amendment to the Constitution was likely soon, so it was inadvisable to change the law now." The Legislature of 1824 passed the reform bill, but it was indefinitely postponed in the Senate where the Crawford men had a majority. The people were exasperated. Most of the Senators voting against the measure were retired for life the next time they came up for election.

The candidates for governor in 1824 were Samuel Young, Regency, James Tallmadge, People's, and DeWitt Clinton. To split the People's vote and embarass Tallmadge, the Regency had Clinton removed from the Canal Commission. It was a disastrous move. It resulted in the nomination and subsequent election of Clinton whom the people considered unjustly treated. The Regency vote on the popular election of presidential electors was used against Young. It was a bitter campaign.

As previously stated, Van Buren favored Crawford in the 1824 presidential election. Clinton favored Jackson since there was no sentiment in favor of Clinton himself. A new figure in the person of Thurlow Weed went to Albany to protect Adams' interests. A special session of the Legislature was called in November 1824 to appoint presidential electors. As only two electoral lists were allowed, all parties "played politics." Van Buren was sure of seventeen votes in the Senate for Crawford plus enough more in the Assembly with the help of some Clay men to give Crawford a majority on a joint ballot. Clay needed seven electoral votes from New York to be one of the three whose names would be voted on by the House.

The Crawford men put six moderate Clay men on their ticket to hold two Senators in line.

The Clay and Adams men decided to support thirty Adams' men and the six Crawford-Clay men, and if Clay won Louisana the Clay-Adams combine was to give him the seven votes he needed from New York. This required the utmost secrecy due to the effectiveness of Regency discipline. Thurlow Weed himself printed the ballots on Sunday preceding Tuesday's election. Weed also heard of another threatened disaster. Three Adams men had been bribed to vote for Crawford. These three votes would have lost Adams his place among the first three. Weed, Tallmadge, and Wheaton followed the men to Albany and there Wheaton threatened to expose them if they would not vote for Adams on ballots signed by the initials of Wheaton and Tallmadge. They remained with Adams. So closely did the Clay-Adams forces guard their secret that Van Buren did not suspect the coalition.

The parties in the Legislature were so evenly divided that only thirty-two electors were chosen and those were on the union tickets. On the second ballot, four Crawford electors were chosen, the Clay men going to Crawford.

The election of Adams staggered the Regency and threatened the influence of Van Buren as it was likely to open the custom houses and post offices to his opponents. It caused new party alignments and gave political prestige to a new man, Thurlow Weed. Van Buren's candidate for governor was defeated by Clinton who favored Jackson not Crawford. Van Buren's candidate for president had been defeated by Adams. Van Buren had no man to whom to turn.

Clinton's early declaration for Jackson gave Van Buren the key to his dilemma. Van Buren planned to make friends with Clinton as Jackson seemed the best prospect as president in 1828.

To come back, Van Buren went on a "still hunt" to get Republicans elected to the state legislature. He ordered the "Argus," edited by Edwin Croswell, to say no word against the Administration, and he sent Benjamin Knower, state treasurer and a Bucktail, to Clinton to say that if the Van Buren leaders could control the party, Clinton would have no opposition in the next gubernatorial election. In the legislative session 1825-6 the Bucktails showed Van Buren's desire to conciliate by confirming Clinton's nomination.[1]

To avoid alienating his own party, Van Buren made a tour of the State to sense the feeling relative to no Bucktail candidate to oppose Clinton for re-election in 1826. The general desire was for a counter-candidate. Van Buren was ready for the emergency. He realized that Clinton had overwhelmed the Bucktail candidate in the 1824 contest by a union of the friends of Clinton, Adams and Clay. Adams had offered Clinton the post of Secretary of State before offering it to Clay and the feeling in 1826 was more cordial than in 1824. The Bucktails knew they were going to support Jackson in 1828 but a Jackson nominee for governor in 1826 would cause the Adams, Clay, Clinton interests to coalesce again. Van Buren suggested a candidate whom the Adams-Clay group, now one, would favor and thus part them from the Clinton group. He suggested William B. Rochester, whose father had been a business partner of Clay's father-in-law. Rochester was returning at the moment from a mission

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1. Autobiography of Van Buren p. 158.

obtained for him through Clay's influence. In regard to the Canal he had created no strong prejudices. After a little persuasion, Van Buren obtained his nomination by the Bucktails.

The impression created was just what Van Buren had anticipated. The nomination was reputed to have been made through the influence of the National Administration and the report received no contradiction from Washington.[1] The vote was close. Clinton won.

The Bucktails had supported Rochester but were not disturbed by his defeat. They had carried the Legislature, in fact everything except the governor, and had paved the way for success in the presidential election of 1828.

Van Buren was now stronger than ever before. He stood with Clinton, with Jackson, and with a party drilled and disciplined better than regular troops. Never was a political party in better state of discipline than was the Van Buren or Democratic Party of New York in 1826, '27, '28. The sense of common danger held by the leaders induced them to act in concert. They were opposed to Clinton and Adams. They wanted to change both and to do so they had to draw many from the Governor and from the Democratic friends of Adams.

The people of the State probably favored Adams in the first two years of his term. Van Buren and his friends rigidly opposed any commitments on the presidential question by their adherents. "The Argus" was in accord with the scheme. The aim was to be free to get on the bandwagon whichever candidate received the nomination of the united Democratic Party. Some of the Regency who spoke out for

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1. Autobiography of Van Buren p. 163.

Jackson were rebuked and sent to political coventry by those fully determined to support Jackson eventually. They felt that a too early declaration would strengthen the opposition and lessen Jackson's prospects of success.

On Feb. 11, 1827 Clinton died. This left Van Buren in an advantageous position by which he immediately profited. He made a funeral speech in which he eulogized Clinton, emphasized the friendly relations between them, and closed by envying him his fame even in death. Van Buren was probably sincere, but he also was making a strong bid for leadership of the Clintonians.

In September 1827 Van Buren allowed the New York wing of the Democratic Party to come out plainly for Jackson. The "Argus" sounded the note. Within a week the whole state knew that the election of 1827 must be conducted with express reference to the choice of Jackson for 1828. The ablest and most popular men were chosen for legislative places. The Adams men did the same. Jackson fascinated the crowds so Van Buren's men carried nearly all of the Senatorial districts and a larger part of the Assembly.

The spring of 1828 brought the Anti-Masonic upset into politics. Free Masons were excluded from local tickets. Anti-Masonic conventions were held and candidates elected. They were mostly Adams men, for Adams let it be known that he was not a Mason while Jackson was a Mason and gloried in it.

The National Republican Convention met in Utica on July 22, 1828 and nominated Smith Thompson for governor and Francis Granger for lieutenant-governor. The Anti-Masonic Convention at

Utica nominated Francis Granger for governor and John Crary for lieutenant-governor. By agreement Granger withdrew from the Anti-Masonic ticket, but through Van Buren's influence Crary refused to withdraw and Southwick was substituted for Granger on the Anti-Masonic ticket. Van Buren was the gubernatorial candidate of the Jackson Party with the understanding that he would be in Jackson's cabinet were Jackson successful. Enos Troop, who as presiding judge in the Anti-Masonic trial in Jan. 1827 had flayed the defendants and so had earned glory among the Anti-Masons, was the candidate for lieutenant-governor on the same ticket.

The campaign was more embittered and relentless, personally, politically, socially, and ecclesiastically than any campaign to date. Van Buren's intrigue, which kept the Anti-Masonic candidates in the field, took enough Adams' votes from the National Democratic ticket to elect Van Buren by a small margin. In the vote for presidential electors sixteen were favorable to Adams and eighteen to Jackson. The extra two, chosen by the electoral college, gave Jackson an advantage of four. It was not the splendid triumph expected from the election of 1827. It gave Jackson an advantage of four votes over Adams in an old Federalist stronghold.

V. Brief Characterizations of a Few Jackson Workers:

No man has had a more efficient and tireless group of party workers than Jackson. His election was a mania with them based on personal devotion, a desire to vindicate Jackson despite the defeat of 1824, a feeling of his availability to bring the Party to success, or a

demoniacal desire to injure the Federalists for personal wrongs suffered through them. A brief sketch of some of the more active will lend clarity to the campaign activities.

1. Martin Van Buren is the best known, since he later rose to the presidency. He has been maligned by the older historians who depicted him as a crafty "wire-puller" and little else. Other writers say that he was "perhaps as polished and captivating a person as the social circles of the Republic have ever known." [1] One writer says he was the greatest lawyer-president the country has had in its history with the exception of the second Harrison.[2] His uncanny skill in political manipulation earned him the sobriquet "the little magician," but he refused to indulge in popular personal attacks or to stoop to disreputable intrigue.[3] He voted for Clay as Secretary of State, refusing to condemn the man on the insufficient evidence of a "corrupt bargain." Adams found in him "much resemblance" to Aaron Burr but the resemblance was probably in the characteristics common to cultivated gentlemen. When some of the Administration leaders suggested that Burr might even have been Van Buren's father due to the resemblance, the Jacksonians replied that his paternity might as well be attributed to Napoleon as Van Buren's nose resembled Napoleon's.

He was shrewd, tactful, affable and firm. He possessed a self-reliant judgment, an urbane good humor, and had a suspicious and half cynical expression.[4] He was not a creative statesman, neither was he a mere schemer. He had definite ideas, if not con-

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1. Sen.Foote's "Casket of Reminiscences" p.59, quoted by Bowers.
2. Bowers p.54
3. " p.53
4. Turner p.43

vidtions, of the proper lines of policy, and was able to state them with incisive and forcible argument when the occasion demanded. He was not an orator as he spoke too rapidly and lacked imagination, but he had a remarkable command of language - clearness of exposition, masterful array of forcible argument, faculty for balancing evidence and for appreciating tendencies.[1]

His attachment to Jackson's cause was decidedly influenced by his belief in Jackson's availability.

2. Major Henry Lee was a half brother of Robert E. Lee, and a man of brilliant parts. During the campaign, he lived with Jackson at the "Hermitage" writing for his election some of the finest campaign papers ever penned in this country.[2] Adams called him a "hack writer."

3. Thomas Benton was an old foe of Jackson and brother of Jesse Benton with whom Jackson fought a duel. His "veracity and personal honesty have never been impeached or questioned."[3]

4. Major John Eaton and Major William Lewis are the personal admirers of Jackson. Each had money and leisure so political spoils were no inducement.

Major Eaton was described by Smelling, an opponent of Jackson, as a man remarkable for his want of education and for the obtuseness of his intellect. Bowers[4] on the other hand claims he was a gentlemen of education, polish, amiability, capacity, and wealth. He possessed dignity, poise, courtliness, and courtesy. He developed a genius for organization and an uncanny capacity for intrigue. He

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1. Alexander p. 207
2. Henry Wise "Seven Decades of the Union" p.79 quoted by Bowers.
3. Bowers p. 72
4. " p. 58

is credited with carrying on the "delicate missions" of the 1828 campaign. His hand wrought havoc with Clay's forces in Kentucky. He made no speeches, just lent his mysterious presence in doubtful areas. There was a sort of sinister aspect to his activities and Jackson's enemies claim he parcelled out jobs with a lavish hand. In 1817 he wrote a biography of Jackson which was reprinted in 1824 as a real campaign document.

5. William B. Lewis was one of Jackson's neighbors, a close personal friend, and as such was interested in Jackson, his success, his vindication, but not in making Jackson a tool of the Party. His aim was to show Jackson at his best. He acted as his literary friend, putting the General's roughly written communications into the forms in which we possess them. He served as a sort of valet for all public occasions to see that Jackson was properly groomed. "He possessed the qualities which Jackson lacked. Where Jackson was impulsive, he was deliberate; where Jackson was prejudiced, he was tolerant; where Jackson was rash, he was prudent if not timid; and while Jackson had ideas, he furnished the vehicle to bear them in parade."[1]

During the campaign of 1828 he studied the political war map and quietly planned successful battles in this state or that. He knew the politics of each state, the personalities and prejudices entering in, the dominating motives of all politicians, even to those never known outside their own communities, and he knew how to play one force against the other without appearing in the game. Knowing the cross-currents of local politics, nothing ever arose that he

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1. Bowers p. 153

could not deal with intelligently.[1] He was one of the most clever manipulators of men and masters of personal intrigue who ever served a President.

His main lines were to arouse Tennessee to feverish enthusiasm for the candidacy of its favorite son and to start apparently spontaneous Jackson movements in all parts of the country in such a way that the cumulative effect was to create the impression of a nation-wide and irresistible demand for Jackson.[2]

Jackson prized his friendship and intelligence so highly that he had Lewis live at the White House with him for the eight years of his presidency.

The attitude of Isaac Hill, editor of the New Hampshire "Patriot" of Concord, New Hampshire can best be understood by knowing the experiences of his early life.

6. Isaac Hill was born in abject poverty. A cripple from childhood, he had seen his father and grandfather become mental wrecks. College was out of the question, the printing office was the only possible substitute. "To be a Republican in New Hampshire in 1809 was to offend God;boldly to preach hostility to Federalism was to proclaim blasphemy and invite destruction." Hill committed both of these crimes and the Federalistic press opened fire on the obscure youth. One paper solemnly announced the discovery that he was a direct descendant of the witches who had suffered at Salem. When the crippled boy was brutally assaulted on the streets of Concord, the Federalist press of New Hampshire gloated over the attack. Nor was it above sneering at his infirmity.

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1. Bowers p. 153
2. Ogg. p. 74

During the darkest days of the War of 1812 it is said he was worth a thousand soldiers in heartening the patriots. With the approach of the campaign of 1828, Hill's paper "The Patriot" bombarded the Adams Administration and Clay promptly deprived him of the public printing.

The stinging paragraphs of Hill made the rounds of the Democratic press of the country, and in his own state he was shamelessly assailed. His personal character was assailed, and references were made to the insanity of his father in disseminating the story that he was crazy.

The psychological answer to his proscription was found in his activity for Jackson. He hurled picturesque phrases and bitter reproaches at the powerful enemy, excoriating it with his satire and sarcasm, and slashing it with the keen blade of his wit. He made a minority militant. If his partisanship was unfair, it was caused by the intolerance and bigotry of the Opposition in his section.[1]

7. Amos Kendall was one of the ablest of the politicians pushing Jackson.[2] He was born in a New England farm-house. As a youth he preferred study to play. He was painfully timid. One of his teachers nearly ended his education by ridiculing his reading of an oration, and while at Dartmouth he was moved almost to tears by professorial praise of one of his essays. He took politics seriously and espoused the cause of the minority despite the overwhelming preponderance of Federalists in New England. He shed his timidity and became militant when he turned to politics. Graduating from Dartmouth, he refused his diploma because of his personal dislike of

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1. Bowers pp. 155-158.
2. Channing p. 365.

the president. He had the courage of his convictions and of his prejudices.

At twenty-five he set out from his New England home. He finally became a resident of Kentucky, a tutor of Clay's children, and a political follower of Clay with whom he parted on the "corrupt bargain." After his admission to the bar, he became editor of the "Georgetown Patriot" and later of the "Frankfort Argus" where he was instantly engaged in bitter political controversies. He was excellent in argument and wit. His editorial code was lofty. He never knowingly misrepresented and if through mistake he erred, he rectified the mistake without being asked. He never retracted a statement if true, he resented an insult in kind. So great was his professional self-respect that on one occasion, when vulgarly assailed in an Opposition paper, he had his answer printed in bill form and circulated by hand, rather than befoul his own journal with a suitable reply.

Other prominent workers there were by the score. They came from all walks of life and with all grades of political ethics. The resultant campaign was one of the most woeful in our history.

VI. Politics in Congress 1825-1828:

"The Adams Administration must be put down though pure as the angels at the right hand of God," [1] is the secret instruction that went forth from Washington to the "faithful."

"I bore some humble part in putting down the dynasty of John the First, and by the grace of God, I hope to aid in putting down the dynasty of John the Second." [2] Randolph of Roanoke.

These two statements give a key to the violent opposition to Adams in Congress during his administration.

1. Weed p. 135
2. Johnson's Randolph p.252.

The first is the result of cold reason on the part of Adams' political opponents. They were determined to get control of the presidency. There was no personal animosity toward Adams. Their attitude would have been the same no matter what member of the Adams party occupied the presidential chair.

The second was based on emotion, which at times verged on insanity. Randolph hated every Adams. Adams too came from a race of the best haters in America. When these two men faced each other in a war to the death, men of only moderate gifts of vituperation were overwhelmed and obscured. Randolph was not merely frenzied but deadly. He told his constituents before his last election that he would never be a candidate again and that he intended to make his last term count. Some Adams men asserted after the election of 1828 that Randolph had more to do with the result than any other three men. It seems strange to find him allied with Jackson but Randolph was an idealist who felt that honor, honesty, and truth might some day be found in a politician. At this time Jackson was one of his heroes to whom he attributed those qualities.

Randolph and the rest of Adams' political opponents were shrewd. So skillfully did they manoeuver that it was impossible for the Administration to win public sympathy by fixing blame upon its opponents. Under the pretext of safeguarding the Constitution, the rights of the states and of the people, every act of the Adams Administration was subjected to the closest scrutiny.

1. Adams' First Message:

Adams' first message to Congress gave his adversaries the opening for which they were waiting. The last sentence was: "While

foreign nations less blessed with that freedom which is power than ourselves, are advancing with gigantic strides in the career of public improvement, are we to slumber in indolence or fold up our arms and proclaim to the world that we are palsied by the will of our constituents?"

Ritchie, editor of the Richmond "Enquirer" opened fire. He was an old states' rights man and an old advocate of republicanism. A list of articles appeared by W. B. Giles. John Randolph of Roanoke entered the fray. The Crawfordites turned to the Jackson-Calhoun faction thereby threatening a general western and southern movement against Adams. A call was issued for a committee to frame an amendment to the Constitution defining the powers of Congress over internal improvements. Thus the battle was on.

2. The Panama Congress 1825:

The first real issue to be made a political football was the Panama Congress. It would have been difficult to state the attitude of the country on the matter before the politicians started. There was a general feeling of sympathy for the South American Republics which had just wrested their freedom from Spain. Many would have advocated giving them material aid to prevent Spain from recapturing them had she attempted such a move. On the other hand, the country agreed quite generally with the dictum of Washington and Jefferson against entangling alliances.

The situation was as follows: A military confederation of Spanish American States had been initiated by Columbia and Peru, Chile, Mexico, and the United Provinces of Central America had joined. Their plan called for a general assembly of American states to meet

every two years. These plenipotentiaries were to serve as a council in conflicts, a rallying point in common dangers, an interpreter of treaties, and an umpire in disputes. They felt that Adams and Clay would be more friendly than Monroe so waited until Adams administration to broach the subject. Two ministers, Mr. Salazer and Mr. Obregon interviewed Clay.

Mr. Clay was enthusiastic about the scheme as it seemed the logical sequence of his own "American System." He urged Mr. Adams to send delegates. Mr. Adams was more cautious. He asked for information on the subjects to be considered, the nature and form of the powers of the delegates, and the mode of organization and procedure. The answer was not satisfactory, but Mr. Adams said that if the Senate agreed, he would appoint delegates with no independent power of action.[1] He warned the Ministers that the United States was not a party to the existing war and would give no counsel.

The Panama Congress was really aimed at the Holy Alliance. The Opposition knew the Holy Alliance was dreaded in the United States. They felt therefore that the Panama Congress might be popular and help Adams and Clay. They also felt that a great national undertaking would divert the public mind from the "corrupt bargain" cry and work to the advantage of the Administration. Their aim was to make the Administration odious. They spread the idea of the South American plan of a permanent league instead of Mr. Adams' instructions.

The President in his message concerning the Congress announced that the invitation had been accepted and that delegates from the United States would be commissioned to attend the Congress.

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1. Burgess p. 150

Then the Opposition began. Randolph did not favor seeing United States delegates seated at a Congress beside mulatto generals and statesmen and held the project up to scorn. He expressed the suspician that the paper containing the invitation to the United States had been manufactured in the office of the Secretary of State.

Mr. Van Buren suggested that the Senate ought to act upon the question with open doors, unless there were something in the documents, the publication of which would be prejudicial to existing negotiations.

Mr. Adams replied that since the established usage of free confidential communications between the Executive and the Senate ought for the public interest to be preserved urimpaired, he deemed it his indispensable duty to leave to the Senate itself the decision of a question involving a departure (previously, so far as he was informed, without example) from that usage, and upon the motives for which (not being informed of them) he did not feel himself competent to decide.

Randolph was aroused to a high pitch of resentment. He said among other things that the "evil genius of the American House of Stuart prevailed." "By innuendo he infers that our motives were black and bad." "That moment did I ..... swear eternal enmity against him and his, politically. From that moment I would do anything within the limits of the Constitution and the law."

Randolph's most famous utterance came during the Panama debate. He said, "After twenty-six hours' exertion, it was time for me to give in. I was defeated, horse, foot, and dragoon - cut up, and clean broke down by a coalition of Blifil and Black George - by a

combination, unheard of till then, of the puritan and the black-leg." [1]

Randolph's intemperate speeches during the whole of the Panama discussion attracted a large share of public attention, and Calhoun was much censured by portions of the public press for omitting to call him to order. Calhoun is charged with partisanship in this. He held however that he did not possess the power to call a senator to order, as the rules conferred that power on members of the body only.

Senator Branch of South Carolina moved a resolution that the Executive had no authority to appoint ministers till he had first consulted the Senate and the Senate solemnly protested against such usurpation of power. He said it appalls the friends of liberty. Adams is president by the letter of the Constitution, is president in opposition to three-fourths of the American people, is president in opposition to seventeen or eighteen of the twenty-four states, is president in opposition to the sovereign will of the people and pays his debt to the minority by the patronage and the creation of offices like these. The appointment of Mr. Clay is the guide post of his future acts.

On the Branch resolution Mr. Randolph said, "This is the first Administration to run the principle of patronage against patriotism ..... it unblushingly bought us up with our own money .... Judas and thirty pieces of silver to enter this miserable Constitution of ours." [2]

The discussion occupied several weeks - till April 1826 - and became earnest and sometimes violent. After unmistakable indications of effects produced by Governmental influence, the nominations were confirmed by a vote of 24 - 20, and the measure received the

1. Bruce p. 513
2. McMasters p. 500.

sanction of both Houses of Congress. The ministers departed but found no Congress in session on arrival. The Opposition had thoroughly discredited the Congress with the Country.

3. Minor Moves:

The Jackson or opposition faction introduced many bills for the political effect, as proved by the fact that Jackson ignored most of the suggestions in his term of office. The list included:

An amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the appointment of Congressmen to office during the term for which they were elected.

A call on President Adams for a list of all such appointments previous to the present Administration and his own appointments which would come within this category.

An amendment declaring the president ineligible for a second term.

a. A report and six bills to reduce executive patronage. Patronage in those days meant expenditures of public money which brought benefits to certain parts of the voters. Benton said it included everything except the public debt. With no opposition party there was no objection. The opposition party in Adams' Administration tried to saddle all the evils of the system on him. Macon suggested a committee on reform of the executive patronage. In 1826 Benton for the Committee reported six bills and a long argument for the reform. The bills dealt with the public printing, officers who handled the revenue, postmasters, cadets and midshipmen, and that military and naval officials could not be dismissed at the will of the president. The arguments were sound and are cited by the Civil Service today, but it was absurd to attack Mr. Adams on the ground of patronage. He made only twelve removals in his term. He retained three of Monroe's

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cabinet and retained the Postmaster-General who used the patronage in favor of Jackson men and to the embarassment of Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams refused to use rotation of office when terms expired and refused to use political office as a political engine. Binns, editor of one of the leading Administration papers, when told that Mr. Adams planned to make no removals, bowed respectfully and said,"I have no doubt the consequence would be that he himself (A.) would be removed so soon as the term for which he was elected expired." [1] The aim of the Opposition was to break Mr. Clay. The patronage stir was based on the "corrupt bargain" charge, which they determined to keep alive.

4. Tariff:

The tariff of 1824 protected coarse woolens. It led to new factories, glutting of the market, and fraudulent entry of imported woolen goods practically free, thereby depriving the government of revenue and not protecting American manufacturing and American merchants.[2] Manufacturers in New England and Pennsylvania memorialized Congress in 1826 representing themselves in dire distress and praying for aid. At the same time the South wanted free trade and the West wanted protection. The Bill of 1827 if it were to help Jackson's election in 1828 must satisfy all groups. The scheme is laid to Van Buren. At least he worked for it.

The Speaker of the House was Andrew Stevenson of Virginia who followed Van Buren into the Jackson camp. He gave up the plan of non-partisan committees. The Committee of Manufactures, which has charge of the tariff, was composed of two Adams men and five Jackson men. The later drew up a political tariff. New England wanted raw materials on the free list and a high tariff on manufactures. The South wanted manufactures on the free list and raw products protected.

1. Turner p. 273.
2. Burgess p. 157.

The West wanted protection for everything. The Committee put high duties on all products. When the bill came up in the House the South was induced to prevent any amendments, being told New England would vote against the bill as it stood. New England voted for the bill rather than get no protection on manufactures, and the bill passed the House. The Session ended before the Senate could vote on it. This is exactly what the Jackson managers wanted. The Northern Jacksonians could return to their constituents and say they had voted for the bill, while the Southern Jacksonians had the opposite story. It was a clever bit of campaign strategy.

5. A resolution to prevent the choice of president devolving on the House and of vice-president, on the Senate. A speech delivered by a representative from Kentucky on this resolution contained the following: "If Clay had not persevered in his candidacy against all hope of success, the western states would have voted for Jackson and he would have received a majority of one. Mr. Clay made the president in opposition to the will of the majority of the states. Adams is a man Clay habitually professed to despise as a man and detest as a politician" - ambition - Proof! "Hear it! He gives the vote of his own state in opposition to his own principles, against the will of the people of that state, and thereby makes the president, and then has the frontless, shameless audacity to set public opinion at defiance by instantly and openly receiving the highest office the president can confer upon him!" [1]

6. Billiard Table and Chessmen:

The most picturesque charge resulted in a routine manner. The Committee on Public Buildings needed an inventory of the furniture

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1. McMaster p.500.

in the President's house bought with money previously appropriated. The schedule was obtained from the private secretary, and without the President's examination, attached to the report and printed at the order of the House.

Most of the articles were useless for campaign purposes, but two items were rare finds. One was a billiard table, cues, and balls for sixty-one dollars; the other, a set of chessmen for twenty-three dollars! These were new proofs of the President's extravagance and aristocratic tastes. When Mr. Adams saw the report he informed the chairman of the Committee that the Secretary was mistaken, no part of the appropriation had gone for the table or the chessmen, but no member of the Committee entered the denial.

A member from Georgia said there were "items in the account he wished had been kept in the dark."

Another member exclaimed, "Is it possible, Mr. Chairman, to believe that it was ever intended by Congress that the public's money should be applied to the purchase of gaming tables and gambling furniture. And if it is right to purchase billiard tables and chessmen, why not, also, faro banks, playing cards, race horses, and every other article necessary to complete a system of gambling at the President's palace, and let it be understood by the people that this is a most splendid gambling Administration? Such conduct in the Chief Magistrate of this nation is enough to shock and alarm the religious, the moral, and the reflecting part of the community." [1]

The opposition used the two sessions of Congress to discredit the Adams Administration, to mercilessly assail Clay, to strengthen its own organization, and to spread propaganda. The Nation's welfare was a minor consideration.

1. McMaster p.498

VII. Campaigning for Jackson:

Never before in the history of the country had there been such a campaign - such appeals to the voters. Jackson was held up before the people as the victim of a corrupt political system. The election of Mr. Adams through the "corrupt bargain" had defeated the "will of the people." Formal issues were subordinated to "Huzza for Jackson." The mass of campaign literature surpassed anything of the kind that had ever gone before in quantity, scurrility, and falsehood. Records, both public and private, were ransacked for campaign material. The career of each candidate was passed in review.

There were a general campaign committee, state and local committees, committees of correspondence, scouts, a strenuous and virulent opposition press, an organized plan of receptions, dinners, and demonstrations all to keep Jackson in the public eye. Nothing, fair or foul, was omitted which would defeat Mr. Adams and elect Mr. Jackson in 1828.

1. Literature.

Under the heading of "literature" has been included printed material such as pamphlets, handbills, and biographies, but not the party press. All "literature" was printed in quantity, some of it was franked by members of Congress and thus sent at government expense throughout the country. Campaign funds were solicited and contributed for this purpose by both parties. Thurlow Weed, an Adams man in New York State, earned the condemnation of the Adams leaders for refusing to distribute several packing case lots of pamphlets besmirching Mrs. Jackson's reputation. He was the exception. Nothing was too scurrilous or too libelous.

Martin Van Buren believed in campaign literature of the right sort. He directed the preparation of numerous pamphlets and like contributions. James A. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton of Washington's cabinet, penned many laudatory tributes to Jackson's personal character. All these effusions from whatever source, before being given to the public (in New York State) were gone over carefully by Van Buren and his "board of censors" as he described his Regents in a letter to Cambreling. [1]

In New Hampshire Isaac Hill, editor of the New Hampshire "Patriot" carried on an intensive printed propaganda against Mr. Adams among the New Hampshire farmers. Edward Everett criticized John McLean, the Postmaster-General and a suspected Jackson partisan, for giving the contract to carry the mail to Isaac Hill, who was thus enabled to distribute his own propaganda with no extra expense to himself.[2]

The "U.S. Telegraph," Duff Green's paper, issued a sixteen page pamphlet every week from May to October 1828 as a campaign supplement. The complete set was to cost one dollar plus the postage.

It required three successive issues to complete an article condemning Clay and the "corrupt bargain" charge, the mainstay of the Jackson propaganda. In this article, to arouse the fears of the masses, it was suggested that the corrupt political machine might even plan to have so many candidates at every election that the choice would regularly be thrown into the House where they could control the result. They said this was not a contest between Mr. Jackson and Mr. Adams, but between the people and these corrupt political managers

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1. Lynch p. 313
2. Channing p. 372

who have seized the influence and patronage of the government and who seek to continue themselves in office by subverting the elective franchise.[1]

The July 12 issue contained an article from the pen of Mr. Ingham of Pennsylvania, written at the request of two members of the Philadelphia Committee. The subtitle is self-explanatory. Its purpose was to show "that John Quincy Adams was educated a monarchist, has always been hostile to popular government and particularly to its great bulwark, the right of suffrage; and that he affected to become a Republican only to attain the power to pervert and degrade the Democratic Party and to pave the way for such a change of the Constitution as would establish in these United States, an aristocratical and hereditary government." Typical of the exposition is the following from an early Adams' writing: "The distinctions of rich and poor are as necessary in states of considerable extent (such as the United States) as labor and good government; the poor are destined to labor, the rich by the advantages of education, independence, and leisure, are qualified for superior stations."

The above examples were typical of the pamphlets. Beside the important articles were reprints from other Opposition papers and the effective and easily remembered joke. The following was copied from the "Emporium."

Stick to Your Candidate: A Jackson and an Adams man met the other day.

"Hurra for Jackson," said the first.

"Hurra for the devil," said the spunky coalitionist.

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1. U.S. Telegraph Extra May 10, 1828.

"Very Well," retorted the Jacksonian, "you stick to your candidate and I'll stick to mine."

In a letter dated April 8, 1828, Jackson wrote Major Coffee that "fifteen thousand of the vilest slanders from the pen of Hammond's "Cincinnati Gazette" have been republished in the city, franked by the members of Congress, and sent over the whole union."

At about the same time Representative Clark of Kentucky told Mr. Adams that a pamphlet written by Samuel Ingham against Mr. Adams had been printed at the commencement of this session of Congress. Many thousand copies had been sent by members of Congress, franked, into Kentucky and all the western country. (It was probably the article quoted above, as the pamphlet Rep. Clark referred to represented Mr. Adams as a monarchist and was a publication of the Jackson electioneering committee of Philadelphia.)

Perhaps the most famous pamphlet is the "Coffin Handbill" originated by Binns, editor of the "Democratic Press" of Philadelphia. It was a supplement to his regular daily, tri-weekly, and weekly issues. It was widely circulated and brought Binns an undesirable notoriety. It was reprinted by other anti-Jackson editors and with additions not related to the execution of the six militiamen, Binns' original subject. A copy sent out by "Our Country" a publication of Hagerstown, Maryland, dated October 18, 1828 is reprinted in the appendix of the third volume of Jackson's Correspondence by J. S. Bassett. It contained articles on the following: the militiamen, John Woods, the massacre of sixteen Indians, the driving of a cane-sword through Samuel Jackson by Andrew Jackson, the attack on Col. Benton and his brother, and a poem on the militiamen, entitled, "Mournful Tragedy."

Beside the pamphlets and handbills, there were at least two campaign biographies, one by his friend Major Eaton and the other published over the name of Isaac Hill of the New Hampshire "Patriot". Of the latter Mr. Adams said, "Should Mr. Hill prosecute the author for calumny in using his name (on above) any jury of honest men would award him a sufficient amount to found an asylum for that class of miserables to be found in his own state, as in every other, who have gone mad from Party. If he really sanctioned the publication he is a fit candidate for such an asylum." He hopes the freemen of New Hampshire know how to estimate this cutthroat morality.[1] (The objectionable parts were in the appended notes.)

VII. 2. Party Presses:

Channing says, "The story of the presidential campaign ending in 1829 was one of the most woeful in our annals." The party presses were largely to blame. Nothing was too personal or too unconventional to print. The law of libel was ineffectual, anonymous articles flourished, and unlettered ignorant persons were often nominated as authors. Neither side was innocent, though the Jackson managers and their presses probably set the pace. Except for the "corrupt bargain" charge which Jackson came to believe by 1827, he was not the instigator of the scurrility - he merely was passive and benefited by it.

The Jackson press charged Mr. Adams with being a monarchist, an aristocrat, and an old Federalist in disguise - a man who changed his party but not his principles. He was accused of having "fed all his life at the public crib," having drawn so much public money in salaries, outfits, and allowances for public office that the total

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1. Adams Diary Jan. 22, 1828.

equaled sixteen dollars a day for every day of his life. He was accused of having corrupted the civil service, abused the patronage, quarreled with his father, of being a friend of duelists, of having written a scurrilous poem about Jefferson, and of being an enemy of the West. It was also said that while at St. Petersburg, Russia, he had surrendered a beautiful American servant girl to the Emperor.

Most of these statements were absolutely untrue or based on a thread of fact so contorted as to be unrecognizable. Adams' worst fault was his coldness and his unbending attitude toward all questions. He would not alter a decision at which he felt he had arrived honestly for expediency, politics, or his own advantage. He would sacrifice all chance of re-election rather than be untrue to his own ideals. He knew every phase of political intrigue but scorned to use them. He was impossible as material for campaign managers. Due to Mr. Adams' characteristics, the Jackson press spent most of its energy on the "corrupt bargain," the sale of the people by the corrupt politicians in 1824 and "Huzza for Jackson!" Typical of the Jackson Journals were the following:

"Expired at Washington on the 9th of February, of poison administered by the assassin hands of John Quincy Adams, the usurper, and Henry Clay, the virtue, liberty, and independence of the United States."

"The sale of the presidency to Mr. Adams has disheartened many worthy persons and made them doubt the capacity of the people for self-government."

"Five Western States bought and transferred to the usurper like so many live cattle or a drove of negroes. The people stand aghast and are lost in amazement."

The Adams press had a subject whose record could be more effectively attacked. The charges made were often true, but Jackson was either following the custom of his time or his office, or was an innocent offender. The list of his "crimes" was appalling, but they seemed to have had no effect on any except those who would have voted for Mr. Adams for want of another conservative candidate. Jackson was accused of marrying his wife before she was divorced from her first husband, of being a party to Burr's confederacy, of murdering six militiamen at Mobile in 1815, of usurping the powers of Congress by making war on Spain by invading Florida, of defying and disobeying the president by capturing St. Marks and Pensacola, of executing Arbuthnot and Ambrister without a trial, of unlawfully and arbitrarily forcing Colonel Collava to surrender the archives and documents when Governor of Spain, of placing military above civil power at New Orleans and insolently defying a judge, of using profane language, and of being a duelist. The list is formidable. The frontiersman and workingman in the city felt however that the militiamen had received what they deserved, the use of the gun on the frontier was the easiest way of settling a dispute. Warring on Spain was no crime. They were against the aristocratic officeholding group represented by Congress and the president, and they did not believe in absentee government.

Neither side lost an opportunity in print or on the platform to publish the crimes of the other. Even William Lloyd Garrison used his pen effectively. He became editor of a paper in Benrington, Vermont, in October 1828 and his biographer, Lindsay Swift, says he did not pretend to be fond of Adams, but the violence of his attacks on Jackson left nothing to be desired.[1]

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1. Swift p. 64

John Binns, an Englishman, successfully conducted a paper in Philadelphia in opposition to the Duane Republicans. He hit upon the scheme of pictorial propaganda. He had posters depicting the most distressing incidents in Jackson's career, some resting on mere rumor. "Binns' Coffin Handbills," supplements to his paper, had little influence on Pennsylvania farmers, it is claimed.[1] These handbills were pamphlet reprints of posters after the manner of tombstones reciting in "Monumental Inscriptions" Jackson's misdeeds. Some historians feel the Adams' managers overdid the personal accusations and that they acted as a boomerang.

In Pennsylvania a group of Adams' men sent Senator Bell of New Hampshire a letter, which he showed to Mr. Adams, proposing a subscription for the purchase and setting up of a German newspaper in support of the Administration and to quote Mr. Adams in his Diary - Mr. Bell inquired if "I should be willing that my son should contribute to this object." Mr. Adams felt it his duty to decline. He would not determine how far it was proper for others to employ money to promote the success of the election. He had been solicited before to spend money for newspapers, agent-emisaries, and even for itinerant preachers, but had declined as he did not approve.[2]

The Washington publications were "The National Journal," "The National Intelligencer," and the "United States Telegraph." The last named was edited and owned by Duff Green, a son-in-law of Calhoun. He was a Jackson man, but his prime interest was Calhoun. It was he who solicited the two wings of the Jackson Party in Massachusetts for funds for his paper and obtained eleven thousand dollars. It was he who was

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1. Channing p. 373.
2. Adams' Diary Jan. 25, 1828.

responsible for increasing his subscription list, which in 1828 contained seventeen thousand names. With such a list and with his lack of scruples he must have caused considerable injury to the Adams cause. The "National Journal" on April 1828 printed the following: "The instances of profligate disregard of truth in the "Telegraph," not only in the use of ordinary means to promote the success of Jackson, but in their extraordinary personal attacks on persons, and their perversion of Congressional proceedings, are so frequent, that our whole limits devoted to their detection would scarcely afford space necessary for the purpose."

The "Telegraph" was not alone in deception according to the "Journal." "The New York Evening Post" another Jackson organ, circulated a fraudulent statement and a copy of a forged commission prepared by the Jackson Committee of Philadelphia. The purpose was to create the impression in the public mind that Mr. Jackson had been appointed Attorney-General of Tennessee by Washington. "The Albany Argus" offered a weak explanation of the deception claiming the "Post" was displaying the <u>form</u> of appointment used in Washington's day.[1]

The "National Journal" was a much more militant campaigner than the other Adams' paper "The National Intelligencer," the recipient of the government patronage in printing. The "Intelligencer" stood more aloof, but the "Journal" reprinted even the story of Jackson's marriage, first printed by Hammond's "Cincinnatti Gazette." In a letter dated July 8, 1828, Duff Green told Mr. Jackson that he had threatened to bring the matter home to Mr. Adams' own family by retaliation so the "Journal" condemned itself for the reprint. The

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1. Journal Oct. 8, 1828.

Adams' camp was in consternation. They feared Duff Green would carry out his threat so denounced him in the most bitter terms for assailing female character!

In his reply, Aug. 13, 1827, Jackson said it was well to throw firebrands into the enemies' camp once in a while but female character should not be introduced by his friends unless the attacks on Mrs. Jackson continued and that by way of just retaliation upon the known guilty. Try to evade it. I never war on females. It is base and cowardly.[1]

All of the papers carried on the usual petty bickering, for want of real campaign material. The "Journal" quoted the "Kentucky Argus" -

"Jackson has the best crops, best cattle, best horses in the neighborhood." The "Journal" added:

"He should have. For many years after he returned to his farm on the banks of the Cumberland, he was enriching his farm at public expense. The money which he continued to draw for pay, rations, fuel, horses, servants, etc. was sufficient to enable him to live in splendid ease ....." [2]

On March 18, 1828 the "Intelligencer" had a column headed "Lies of Day" containing paragraphs taken from Opposition papers. A few will give the tendency:

Gales and Seaton have printed thirty to forty thousand of the Virginia Adams address and I have no doubt Mr. Clay pays for them; whether out of the contingent fund is more than I can tell. Mr. Clay has just as much right to give G. and S. money for such a purpose as he had

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1. Bassett p. 377.
2. Journal June 13.

to give nineteen hundred dollars for bearing dispatches to Buenos Ayres. "Cincinnatti Republican."

Mr. John Sargeant, on Tuesday, voted for a resolution to pension the widows of the six militiamen.

Philadelphia Pal.

Mr. John Adams (whom Mr. Jefferson styled the pillar of American independence) endeavored to form a union between his family and the King of England through his son, John Quincy Adams.

Opposition presses passim.

It is well known that both Adams and Clay are actually at work, through their agents, in pushing on the excitement, in the Western part of this state, against the Masons.

New England Enquirer.

George Washington ordered two militiamen to be executed, wit out the formality of a trial.

Kentucky Advertiser.

Mr. Adams was willing to barter away the rights of Americans on the Mississippi for a mess of codfish in the East.

Penn. Reporter.

Niles Register for March 8, 1828 contained the following paragraph under the caption "Elections and Electioneering." It speaks volumes for the character of the press in the 1828 campaign.

"There is too often, in the proceedings of the parties, so much of that feeling which we are indisposed to indulge in this work, with so much error and misrepresentation, that we have several times nearly resolved to exclude all notices of electioneering except in results of elections."

(note: It is impossible to obtain copies of the "Telegraph" or the "Argus" at the Boston Public Library. This account is probably biased due to lack of information.)

VII. 3. Receptions, Demonstrations, Dinners:

From 1825 to 1828 Jackson was the central figure in an extraordinary number of receptions and public dinners, the express purpose of which was to keep him before the public. He himself was discreetly absent, as it was considered bad form for a presidential candidate to campaign in his own behalf or to attend gatherings where his presence would be inferred to have a political significance.

While he was still in Washington, a marmoth dinner at which four thousand persons were present was given at Paris, Kentucky, Clay's home state. It was to counteract any impression that might have gone abroad that Clay had pursued the wishes of his constituents in the presidential election of 1824. As Mr. Jackson wrote his friend General Coffee[1] it was the forerunner of more to follow.

When Jackson retired from the Senate, he returned to the "Hermitage" to spend his days in dignified retirement awaiting the voice of the people at the next election. Erroute to Tennessee by way of Pennsylvania and Ohio, Mr. Jackson received one round of ovations. Everything was planned. The climax was a great dinner at Nashville, where he was the honored guest.

The Jackson partisans made every popular gathering an opportunity for advancing their candidate. The cry of "Jackson and Reform" was heard at flag-raisings, musters of the militia, at the Court House during court week, in fact everywhere that people gathered in groups throughout the South and West.[2]

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1. Correspondence July 23, 1825.
2. McMaster p.517

January 8, 1828 was generally observed throughout the country as Jackson Day. Banquets were held in most of the cities and were partisan affairs. The "Intelligencer" objected to the Washington dinner on that score. The "Journal" objected to the "bullying" toasts. It claimed "wine was a brisk and powerful operator - gave a morbid activity to the imagination." Except for the famous New Orleans Dinner, most of these banquets were campaign revels where each toast was more scurrilous than the last. They acted as stimulants for the lagging spirits, and rallying points for the local workers.

The "Privy Council" as Adams called the national campaign workers, expended their greatest efforts on the New Orleans celebration. Every detail was planned and Jackson was docile in the hands of the Committee. Arthur P. Hayne wrote Jackson in regard to his speeches. They were to be three in number and only one was to be in the least political. In that he was to make two points: first - he had left his home to answer his country's call, had performed the task, and had then returned home; second - a mild but manly reference to the wicked attacks on Mrs. Jackson. The rest of the speech was to be military and all of his speeches were to be read.

The Jackson press was eloquent in its praise of Jackson's oratory and rhetoric, but Mr. Adams claimed the speeches were written by Major Henry Lee, a "hack writer."

A part of the New Orleans program was that Jackson and his friends were to go to the Catholic Church where an aged priest was to make an address to him. The priest's address was prepared in advance, and given to Mr. Jackson by the committee that he might prepare a fitting reply. That was a "poser" for the Jacksonians. His friends

were at a loss how to make a proper answer at a religious ceremony. Finally Col. James H. Hamilton was given the address. He prepared an answer and handed it to the General on his way to the church.[1]

The thoroughness of the Jackson Committee is displayed in the New Orleans Celebration,[2] the pinnacle of their efforts in that line. A committee left New Orleans on December 28 to meet the guests at Natchez. After a procession, dinner, and ball there, the entire party sailed down the river to New Orleans, arriving auspiciously on January 8. A fleet of eighteen firstclass steamboats escorted the "Pocahontas," Jackson's ship, to the Battleground amid the waving of flags and the booming of artillery. Vast multitudes collected in the field to express their joy and pride in again beholding their "country's great benefactor."

Returning from the Battleground he landed opposite the house of his host, Mr. Marigny. Drawn up in line of battle to receive him were United States troops under Col. Taylor, a legion under Col. Roffignac, a splendid and well-disciplined company of volunteers from Natchez under Lieut. Walker, the first brigade of militia under Gen. Robeson, and Major-Gen. Lacoste surrounded by a brilliant staff. Windows, balconies, roofs of houses, decks, tops and riggings of ships were covered with people. The shouts of the crowd rivalled the thunder of the artillery when he landed.

A procession formed and wended its way through the principal streets. At the statehouse Mr. Jackson was presented to the Legislature, which he addressed, and reviewed the troops at the Governor's invitation. After attending a religious service at the

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1. Hamilton's Reminiscences p. 71
2. Niles Register, Feb. 9, 1828.

Catholic Church he went to a dinner at the Davis Hotel, where plates were laid for five hundred.

In the evening he attended the French theatre where a cantata, composed especially for the occasion was presented. After the first act, Mr. Jackson left to attend a performance at the American theatre. At eleven o'clock he retired to his house, accompanied by the Committee.

Reports of this celebration found their way into papers all over the country, as Jackson's escort was composed of men from every section, even far off New York whose delegates were James A. Hamilton, Saul Alley, and Thaddeus Phelps. The committee was accomplishing its purpose - publicity.

VII. 4. Organization and Discipline:

The success of Jackson in 1828 has been attributed to the efficient organization and discipline of the Jackson forces. There was a regular hierarchy of workers, and from the humblest laborer in the small town to the "Privy Council" each man seemed to have been imbued with one idea - elect Jackson.

a. Committees:

The national committee, the "Privy Council" of Mr. Adams' sarcasm, had headquarters at Washington and seems to have included Martin Van Buren, Robert Y. and Arthur P. Hayne, Sam Houston, James Polk, Thomas Benton and Major Eaton. These men had a two-fold responsibility - to prevent Mr. Jackson from ruining his own chances and to win the election. Mr. Van Buren was the acknowledged leader in the Crawford campaign. He said he "made his debut in the art and

business of president-making then." In the Jackson campaign he developed it to a state defying improvement or reform.[1]

These men kept a careful watch on articles in the newspapers, writing to editors whose policy seemed unwise. They shared the responsibility with the sectional committees for pamphlets and other campaign literature and tried to be forehanded in every attack from the Adams' forces.

The Congressmen and Senators were so well organized and disciplined by some of this same "Privy Council" that eighteen New York representatives were among those who voted against Taylor for Speaker of the twentieth Congress. Four of Taylor's personal friends, of long standing, were among the eighteen, but they deserted under the spell of party management.[2] The new Speaker was merely an instrument in the party leaders.[3] J. . Hamilton of South Carolina "speaks of disposing of places on the committees as though he were Speaker."[4]

Controlling Mr. Jackson was one of their tasks which required the utmost tact. Many letters were written for that one purpose. On one occasion James Polk wrote Mr. Jackson begging him to make no reply to a request for his views on internal improvements. Mr. Houston, before delivering a severe letter from Mr. Jackson to Secretary of War Southard presented it to the managers for their approval. The letter was never delivered, but a new one in a different tone was written by Mr. Jackson through the Committee's influence. Caleb Atwater, who joined the Jackson inner circle after Governor Clinton's death, wrote Jackson, "For Heaven's sake, for your country's sake, do remember

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1. Lynch p. 253
2. Adams'Diary Dec. 16, 1827
3. " " " 7, 1827
4. " " " 11, 1827

that but one man can write you down - his name is Andrew Jackson."

Beside warning Mr. Jackson through correspondence, the committee kept three trusted workers, Judge Overton,[1] Major Lewis, and Jackson's nephew Andrew Jackson Donelson, with him at all times to act as intermediaries and to prevent indiscretion. All that was humanly possible was done to control the situation.

The national committee was a co-ordinating unit for sectional committees, which were early put in order for a long, systematic and resistless campaign. These groups had headquarters in New York, Nashville, Pennsylvania, and another somewhere in the South. They were responsible for most of the campaign literature and propaganda, the cartoons, and the handbills. They met the assaults on Jackson with counter-assaults. The Nashville Committee was responsible for refutation and information on the question of his marriage, the execution of the militiamen, his duel, and his views on internal improvements.[2]

Samuel Ingham did considerable writing for the Pennsylvania Committee. His article on Mr. Adams' monarchical tendencies was scattered throughout the country in pamphlet form and published by Duff Green in "The Telegraph Extra." This same Committee was responsible for the information that Mr. Jackson had been appointed Attorney General for Tennessee by Washington and also for the copy of the forged form.

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1. Note: Much interesting information is lost forever as Judge Overton destroyed all of his correspondence before his death. He evidently obtained his letters from Jackson too, as none exist.
No correspondence of Major Eaton is known to exist.
Major Lewis' correspondence is singularly depleted of Jackson's letters.

2. Bassett - Intro. Jackson's Corresp. p.XI Vol.III

It is impossible to trace all the propaganda to its source, but it is easily seen that organization was complete and duplication evidently avoided. These Committees flooded the country with pamphlets, posters, cartoons, newspaper articles, and propaganda in general. They felt the pulse of the locality and supplied the need whether it was for stump-speakers, itinerant preachers, or literature.

b. Correspondence:

"There are in several states, at this time, and Maryland is one of them, meetings and countermeetings, committees of correspondence, delegations and addresses against and for the Administration, and thousands of persons are occupied with little else than to work up the passions of the people preparatory to the Presidential election, still more than eighteen months distant.[1]

These committees referred to by Mr. Adams probably carried on routine correspondence relative to the campaign. There was another kind suggested by a letter from Major Allan Campbell[2] to General Jackson. It says in part, "I have given you the annexed list, for the purpose of enabling you, if you should think proper, to write to certain men in this state." (Kentucky).

c. Scouting and Electioneering:

Reading into the correspondence of the time, the Jackson managers had scouts out very early. Many of the letters are addressed to General Jackson, showing that he was not a mere puppet in the hands of his managers.

As early as July 1826 Arthur P. Hayne visited New York State and reported the political atmosphere. Speaking of DeWitt Clinton he

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1. Adams' Diary May 29, 1827.

2. Jackson's Correspondence p. 333.

wrote, "In point of power and popularity he is now thought worthy of being Courted, for it is believed that he may be able to control the two great states of New York and Ohio, but it is distinctly understood that his influence can in no event extend farther." [1] In the same letter Mr. Hayne wrote that the Administration had been making advances to the Crawford party in North Carolina, but we have with us at Ballston intelligent men from that state ....."

Again in September of the same year, Major Henry Lee wrote Jackson from Buffalo. He had interviewed Governor Clinton.

James Hamilton wrote Mr. Jackson from Washington in Feb. 1827 saying, "The Bucktails or Republican Party are beginning to move in New York. Van Buren, the first man in that State is zealously and cordially and entirely with us. He travels to the South with me after the adjournment to spend the spring in Carolina and Georgia, and next summer I shall join him at the North and pass it with our friends." [2]

In March Mr. Van Buren accompanied by Mr. Cambreling made a short political tour of the South in behalf of Jackson. He attended a dinner at Raliegh to his colleague Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and spoke of States' Rights. He visited Mr. Crawford at his home in Georgia to get the story about Calhoun's desire to punish Jackson for his Seminole War conduct. On May 12 he called on Mr. Adams when passing through Washington enroute to New York. The President wrote, "Mr. Van Buren is now the great electioneering manager for Jackson, as he was before the last election for Crawford." [3]

d. State Elections:

State elections of 1826, 1827 and 1828 were subjects of great

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1. Jackson Corresp. Vol. III p. 306
2. " " " " p. 333
3. Lynch p. 310

concern. In the last two elections especially candidates were hand-picked by the managers. Personal feelings counted for nothing. Previous service to the party went by the board. Every candidate must further the election prospects of Jackson. Both parties put forth gigantic efforts for the psychological effect of a victory.

Taylor of New York approached President Adams in regard to Smith Thompson, a judge of the Supreme Court, who was reluctant about quitting the bench for a doubtful election as governor of New York. Mr. Adams said he could not promise him an appointment if defeated, but he told Taylor of a source of influence to persuade Thompson.[1] Even Mr. Adams weakened!

Mr. Bailey of Massachusetts went to Mr. Adams with a suggestion from Daniel Webster regarding the August elections in Kentucky.[2] He said the Opposition was spending much money and there was an indispensable necessity of counteracting them in the same way. Mr. Bailey asked Mr. Adams for five or ten thousand dollars to be given without asking how it was to be used to elect Governor Metcalf, governor of Kentucky in August. (Adams refused). The money was to be used for the circulation of newspapers, pamphlets and handbills. Henry Clay went to Kentucky to work for Metcalf's election.

The efforts of the Jackson organization must have been appalling when the poorly organized Adams' forces were so active.

e. Card Indexing:

One letter to Jackson from Allan Campbell of Louisville, Kentucky, throws light on the thoroughness of the Jackson organization. He writes, "To defeat, or check the purposes of the aristocracy, it

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1. Adams' Diary Jan. 14
2. " " Mar. 8

became indespensioly necessary for the Republicans to have recourse to extraordinary means and exertions. I therefore originated, and with the co-operation of about half a dozen intelligent and zealous friends, carried into full and successful operation last year, a plan, or System of Committees from a Principal or Central Committee of Louisville, down to Sub-Committees in every ward of the Town, and Captains of Company in the Country. In execution of which our Sub-Committee not only kept the secret so well, that our adversaries remained entirely ignorant and secure until overwhelmed in disgraceful (ruin) but likewise went so far in detail in the (regu) lar reports, as to give the names of each voter, how each would vote, both on the local and National question. The Committee plan to embrace the whole state before next August elections."

Organization was a science with the Jackson leaders.

5. Unethical Practices:

The election of 1828 has no superior in the matter of unethical practices. The Adams cohorts were handicapped, due to Adams' strict code regarding patronage. He would not personally contribute money though he did not forbid its use in his behalf, saying that he would not determine how far it was proper for others to employ money to promote the success of an election.[1]

Apparently the Jackson party had no scruples. Everything is "fair in war and politics" to paraphrase an old saying. Promises of patronage, vote buying, directly and through gifts to charity, repeating and intimidation were all used.

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1. Adams' Diary Jan. 25

a. Patronage:

Rotation in office was the most attractive tenet in the Jacksonian code. "To the victor belong the spoils" was the catch-phrase.

In most cases no definite promises were made but it was understood that the most faithful workers were to be rewarded. Implication and example kept the workers faithful and explains the horde which swept down on Washington as soon as Jackson came into office.

By 1827 the Party had become so strong in the Senate that Duff Green, editor of the "Telegraph," a scurrilous and abusive print by and for the opposition [1] was confirmed printer of the Senate by the Senate. The psychological effect of such an early appointment must have been excellent.

Duff Green in his turn was an effective agent. It was he who interviewed the two factions of the Jackson Party in Massachusetts, soliciting fifteen thousand dollars for the "Telegraph." To the Theodore Lyman, Jr. group he made no definite promises but obtained five thousand dollars. He made definite promises of office to the David Henshaw group, which pledged six thousand dollars (paid after Jackson's election). That Duff Green was authorized to speak seems clear from the fact that his promises were redeemed; Henshaw was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston and two of his colleagues, Andrew Dunlap, Harvard 1813, and Nathaniel Green, editor of the "Statesman" became District Attorney and Postmaster of Boston respectively.[2]

In 1824 Pierre M. Barker gave Jackson his only electoral vote in New York State. Without a doubt it was unsolicited, but to

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1. Adams' Diary Dec. 5.
2. Darling p. 63

prove that Jackson believed in rewarding his friends, let it be mentioned that four years later Jackson, when he had it in his power, appointed Barker collector of the Port of Buffalo.

Major Eaton's effectiveness as a worker is said to have been due to the fact that he distributed jobs with a lavish hand.

Samuel Swartwout was one of the most unscrupulous and most energetic workers in New Jersey. He had an unsavory reputation even among calloused politicians. He fully expected to be rewarded as his presence and his statements in Washington after the election revealed. His reward was collector of the Port of New York. Even Jackson workers trembled. He justified their predictions by embezzling over one and one-quarter million dollars in four years and fleeing to Europe for the remainder of his days.

b. Money:

Money was used by both sides for the circulation of newspapers, pamphlets, handbills and the like. Adams records two different occasions on which he was personally solicited for the above, adding that he had been solicited for newspapers, agent-emissaries and even for itinerant preachers.[1] Both sides seemed to consider these objects legitimate.

In the March 21, 1828 issue of the "Journal" Amos Kendall's activities are commented upon. He had been most active in investigating Clay in the Kentucky Legislature. Shortly before the investigation he had been in Washington conversing with the Opposition members of the Kentucky delegation. On his return to Kentucky and after the close of the investigation he offered for sale a check for one thousand

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1. Adams' Diary Jan. 25 - Mar. 8.

six hundred ten dollars. It looked suspicious.

Writing about the August 1827 Kentucky election Mr. Hunt wrote Jackson that the wealth of the State was arrayed against Jackson. The Adams' party had "emissaries in every point of the County, riding day and night, bringing in sick and maimed, and passed us on Wednesday. The number of illegal votes is inconceivable. I was a novice at the business and did not find out the game they were playing until it was too late." [1]

If the Adams' press can be believed, the Jackson forces became professional before the election of November 1828. The Georgetown "Sentinel" in discussing the Kentucky state election wrote: "Several persons were detected during the last election (August 1828) in Fayette, who had been hired to go from other counties and vote for the Jackson ticket. Some of the persons went from Mercer and circumstances which have already developed, justify the belief that a prominent citizen from the latter county was concerned in the business. The great object of the party seems to have been to elect the Jackson ticket in Fayette where Mr. Clay resides. The business is to be probed. There was more than one thousand six hundred ten dollars of the Jackson fund reached Kentucky." Workers are supposed to have been paid fifty cents per day and expenses to go to other counties and vote for Major Barry. [2]

The "Journal" also quotes the Philadelphia "Gazette" to the effect that money was being solicited in Pennsylvania to buy the election in New Jersey for Jackson. It had heard of one person in Philadelphia who had given fifty dollars to purchase votes in New Jersey. Spelling

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1. Jackson Corresp. Vol. III p. 379

2. Nat'l Journal Sept. 1, 1828.

in his "Life of Jackson" wrote, "If there was no definite understanding touching the price of votes, it is certain it was implied and acted upon, and laborers have since received their hire." [1]

Mr. Carbreling and Mr. Verplanck are reported to have sent twenty-five dollars to the Irish Association a few days before election. "Charity but not disinterested! " the "Journal" comments.

c. Repeating:

The practice of having the election extend over a period of days led to repeating. In New York City, the first day was orderly. On the second and third days the orderly conduct of Monday was missing and there was much illegal voting. Matthew McCue and Robert McCoy, inhabitants of Newark, voted on Monday in the fifth Ward. Other persons were solicited but refused. In the second Ward a man was sent to jail for twenty-four hours by the inspectors for offering to vote a second time. In the eighth Ward a person who had come all the way from Patterson through the storm in a gig, voted illegally. Two were traced from the fourteenth Ward where they voted, through the sixth Ward where they were refused, to the fourth Ward where they voted again.

The "Statesman," most impartial of papers according to the "Journal" reported violence at Tammany Hall on November first. Life was in jeopardy. One man was dragged from the Hall, his garments torn to tatters, and turned into the street.

After such a recital, little doubt can be entertained about the campaign of 1828. There was more to it than an enthusiastic and irresistible call for Jackson. Jackson was popular with the masses and he was their choice without a doubt, but connivance of politicians for

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1. Smelling p. 159

the spoils of office tainted the whole campaign. Consciously Jackson was not to blame, but unconsciously he was. He was a man of emotion rather than of reason, a man of unreasoning prejudices and allegiances, and a man easily molded by those whom he trusted. With such a personality and with managers like many of Jackson's, the campaign became an orgy of abuse and misrepresentation, of attack and counter-attack, of treachery and downright fraud.

VIII. The Returns of the Election:

The returns of the election after six years of hectic campaigning make an interesting study. Jackson was elected by an overwhelming majority of the electoral college votes. He received one hundred seventy-eight to eighty-three for Mr. Adams. On the surface that appears to reward the Jackson managers. The popular vote changes the picture. While Jackson received a majority, it was only one hundred thirty-nine thousand two hundred twelve votes. Mr. Adams received over five hundred eight thousand votes to something over six hundred forty-seven thousand for Mr. Jackson. It must be remembered Mr. Adams did nothing to win popular approval. He presented an austere exterior, he never unbent, he did nothing to ingratiate himself with the voter. Mr. Jackson on the other hand played the part of a military hero gracefully, winning approval on all sides by his social charms. Even Mrs. Daniel Webster was facinated, but I presume she would have voted for Mr. Adams.

Mr. Channing with his conservative rather abolitionist tendency has made an interesting study of the returns. He claims that the twenty-four western votes might have been discarded and Mr. Jackson would still have been elected by the overrepresented South

combined with the employment of unjustifiable methods in Pennsylvania and New York. His figures follow:

105 Southern electors received 204,000 votes

83 Adams " " 355,000 "

4 3/4 million free people of North in 1828 had 127 electoral votes.

2 1/2 " Southern voters " " " 105 " "

Each Southern elector represented 25,000 free people

" Northern " " 35,000 " "

Southern votes + 24 western votes = 129

Adams' " + 48 N.Y. & Penn." = 131

" Southern 105 + N.Y. & Penn. 48 = 153

Enough to elect Mr. Jackson without the West.

The Adams' managers professed to believe to the last minute that Mr. Adams would be re-elected, but from records in his Diary, Mr. Adams was not deceived. Mr. Adams received fewer electoral votes than in 1824, and not one of the votes given to Mr. Clay in 1824 was transferred to Mr. Adams in 1828.

Benton says the election of 1828 was the "assertion of the people's right to govern themselves." Some claim it was a vindication of Mr. Jackson plus an emphatic popular endorsement of the social and political order with which he was identified. The people turned their backs on their early principles of statesmanship and entrusted the conduct of the federal government to an untrained, self-willed, passionate frontier soldier. To the average voter of 1828 Mr. Jackson was a great popular leader because they held him to be a typical democrat.

Without a doubt the personal appeal of Andrew Jackson was immeasurable but without the twentieth century publicity and selling

methods used by his managers Mr. Adams would have stood an even chance of winning. Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, New York and Louisana would undoubtedly have been his at least in part. Jackson might have received a majority but hardly 178 - 83.

IX. Summary:

Election of Andrew Jackson 1828.

The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 was the culmination of a six-year campaign, the most "woeful" in the history of the country to that time." It was the result of two factors; discontent with the system of officeholding which had developed since 1789, and the evolution of the masses into an articulate electorate.

During the first three decades of our history custom had prescribed election to the presidency through secretarial succession. The "heir apparent" was generally the Secretary of State. The formality of nomination was by congressional caucus. This system aroused opposition on the part of a large part of the people as it allowed a small clique to control the highest offices in the land. Agitation led to discrediting the Congressional caucus so that in 1824 only the followers of Crawford who was the "heir apparent" attended the caucus.

The other aspirants, John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson, were nominated by state legislatures and state conventions. Since all five candidates were members of the same party and held practically the same ideas on public questions, their followings were personal admirers. John C. Calhoun became the vice-presidential candidate when Pennsylvania, on which he had counted, nominated Jackson for first place. He was elected vice-president by the electoral college, but no one of the presidential candidates received the majority required by the Constitution. Jackson received ninety-three, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-

seven votes. This automatically eliminated Mr. Clay as only the first three could be considered when the election was thrown into the House.

Despite instructions from the Kentucky Legislature, Mr. Clay lent his influence to Mr. Adams insuring his election by the House.

The 1828 campaign began immediately, the Tennessee Legislature nominating Mr. Jackson in September 1825.

The Jackson managers determined to attract the followers of the defeated candidates. Calhoun's followers had already joined Jackson's but the relationship was not very cordial. Calhoun was a college man of culture and refinement and his followers were attracted by those qualities. Jackson, attracted the rougher type, but his popularity far exceeded Calhoun's, leading Jackson's managers to feel that Calhoun was grafting on Jackson's popularity to further his own presidential aspirations. Crawford's well disciplined party joined Jackson's by 1826, thus giving Jackson the master campaign manager, Martin Van Buren.

The work of the managers was facilitated by conditions in the country at the time. During President Monroe's administration there had been a broadening of the suffrage. The franchise was extended down to the uneducated and less privileged groups in the older states of the East and the new Western states had generally adopted manhood suffrage. These new voters could expect nothing from the conservative group which controlled the government so they naturally gravitated to the Opposition. The uneducated and the ignorant, having a traditional habit of reverential respect for superiority of talent

and breeding, yielded readily to leadership. They had neither the ability nor the inclination to read long arguments and to sift evidence so that especially in Pennsylvania, the West, and the South, the "corrupt bargain" charge was powerful. It became "a sort of religious belief that in 1824 Andrew Jackson, a guileless soldier, the hero of New Orleans, the saviour of his country, had been cheated out of his right by two rascally politicians, Adams and Clay, who had corruptly usurped the highest office of the government and plotted to destroy the liberties of the American people."[1]

Presidential electors were chosen by popular vote (but on a general ticket) in all the states except South Carolina and Delaware thus giving the newly enfranchised masses great weight. Appealing to their prejudices and passions sank the campaign to low levels.

Jackson himself had an immense popular appeal. He was a man of action, he was unapproachable by pecuniary considerations, and his domestic life was blameless. To the masses he was a democrat, a man of the people. His reckless daring and lack of respect for conventional governmental routine marked him as a man apart from the political hierarchy which had controlled the government from its inception. Added to that he was the greatest soldier of his day.

It is a question whether his popularity would have carried him into the presidency without the help of the shrewdest set of political managers the country has produced. Jackson's election was a mania with them. Martin Van Buren had years of experience in winning elections in New York State, and had managed Crawford's campaign in 1824. Mr. Randolph said he "rowed to his goal with muffled oars" [2] while others dubbed him the "little magician,"

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1. Schurz p. 286
2. Johnson p. 236

"the red fox," and the "wire-puller." He had behind him in his own state of New York a party drilled and disciplined better than regular troops. Major Eaton and Major Lewis were personal friends of Mr. Jackson and had the wealth and leisure to further his cause. Major Eaton is generally credited with carrying out the "delicate missions" which required finesse and he is accused of distributing jobs with a lavish hand. Major Lewis remained at the "Hermitage" with General Jackson to shield him from those who might do him harm and to act as an intermediary between him and the public and the managers in Washington. He made campaigning a science having at his command a political war map of every state, knowing the politicians, their prejudices and the mode of approach. In every state there were committees, hack writers, scouts, stump-speakers, preachers, and editors like Amos Kendall, Duff Green, and Isaac Hill whose pens did yeoman service for his cause. Each worked in his own locality. Some like Isaac Hill in New Hampshire and David Henshaw of Massachusetts labored quite in vain due to the strong conservative majorities in those states, while Martin Van Buren in New York State succeeded in winning a majority of only four electoral votes for Jackson.

Campaigning took many forms.

The administration of Mr. Adams became little except a preparation for 1828. Every measure and action of the Administration was attacked with vigor to discredit Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. Beginning with the inaugural address the Opposition made a concerted, organized fight. So clever were they in their tactics that the Administration could gain no sympathy from the country by accusing them of political motives.

The Panama Congress was debated for four months. The political purpose is evident as the Opposition was undecided where to make the attack - in the Senate on the appointments or in the House on the appropriation. Since their best orators were in the Senate, they chose the former. The speeches were violent and completely discredited the Congress with the country.

Many of the moves were for the purpose of killing Mr. Clay politically. There was a resolution for an amendment to prohibit the appointment of Congressmen to office during the term for which they were elected. Mr. Adams had appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State, taking him from the House. Then there was a call for a list of such appointments from 1789 to 1824, and for those of Mr. Adams. Patronage and retrenchment were both discussed, the latter against the wishes of the leaders of both parties. Political manoeuvering made the Tariff further Jackson's cause among the varied elements of his following.

Campaigning was vigorous. Mr. Adams records that eighteen months before the election nothing else was discussed and the intensity was as great as in the last few weeks before election. Pamphlets, cartoons and handbills flooded the country. The party presses were unscrupulous and violent. Speakers used every occasion from Court week to military musters to further the cause of Jackson. An organized system of receptions, demonstrations, and public dinners kept Jackson forever in the public eye. "Huzza for Jackson! " drowned every consideration of reason and justice. Mr. Niles of the "Register" said of the election that it would "cause as much heat, if not violence, as any other event that ever happened in this

country, that father would be arrayed against son, and son against father, old friends become enemies and social intercourse be cruelly interrupted; and all this because the resolution to put up or put down individuals swallowed up every consideration of right and of wrong." [1]

No campaign had such organization among the workers. The national committee or "Privy Council", as Adams dubbed them, worked at Washington. Each state had its state and local committees which penetrated to the smallest hamlet. Committees of correspondence conveyed the needs of communities and central committees supplied the need whether it was for literature, stump-speakers, agent emissaries, or itinerant preachers. Scouts toured the country reporting shades of political feeling. Kentucky, the real arena, was card-catalogued so that the committee knew how each man was to cast his vote in the local and presidential contests. Where no other means proved effective, the committees offered or implied that patronage would reward the most faithful. Some claim votes were bought.

The election itself had some disgraceful elements if the newspapers of the day can be believed. Gifts of money were sent to Charitable Associations a few days before election by prominent politicians, money was solicited in one state to buy the election in another, and "repeating" was practiced by the unscrupulous.

After a hectic and extensive campaign lasting six years, Mr. Jackson was elected in 1828, receiving one hundred seventy-eight electoral votes to eighty-three for Mr. Adams. He received all of

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1. Schurz p. 278

the votes west of the Alleghenies and south of the Potomac together with all of Pennsylvania's, five of Maryland's, twenty of New York's and one of Maine's. He came into power on the crest of a wave of popular uprising against the moneyed aristocracy and the official bureaucracy.

The election of Mr. Jackson and the "death of King Caucus" did not transfer the control of the government to the people. It merely substituted one clique of political bosses for another. It made the presidential campaigns real competitions in which the vote of the masses played an important part. It made availability a more importart factor of choice and caused the presidential mantle to fall on men of a narrower culture than Jackson's predecessors, but on men with conservative tendencies. Jackson alone was of the rougher mold.

RETURNS

States	Jackson	Adams	Mode of Election
Maine	13,927	20,733	Districts
New Hampshire	20,922	24,134	Gen. Ticket
Vermont	8,350	25,363	" "
Massachusetts	6,016	29,876	" "
Rhode Island	821	2,754	" "
Connecticut	4,448	13,838	" "
New York	140,763	135,413	Districts
New Jersey	21,951	23,764	Gen. Ticket
Pennsylvania	101,652	50,848	" "
Delaware	---	---	Legislature
Maryland	24,565	25,527	Districts
Virginia	26,752	12,101	Gen. Ticket
North Carolina	37,857	13,918	" "
South Carolina	---	---	Legislature
Georgia	19,363	No Opposition	Gen. Ticket
Alabama	17,138	1,938	" "
Mississippi	6,772	1,581	" "
Louisana	4,603	4,076	" "
Kentucky	39,397	31,460	" "
Tennessee	44,293	2,240	Districts
Missouri	8,272	3,400	Gen. Ticket
Ohio	67,597	63,396	" "
Indiana	22,257	17,052	" "
Illinois	9,560	4,662	" "
Total	647,276	508,064	

ELECTORAL VOTE

States	President		Vice-President		
	Jackson	Adams	Calhoun	Rush	Smith
Maine	1	8	1	8	-
New Hampshire	-	8	-	8	-
Vermont	-	7	-	7	-
Massachusetts	-	15	-	15	-
Rhode Island	-	4	-	4	-
Connecticut	-	8	-	8	-
New York	20	16	20	16	-
New Jersey	-	8	-	8	-
Pennsylvania	28	-	28	-	-
Delaware	-	3	-	3	-
Maryland	5	6	5	6	-
Virginia	24	-	24	-	-
North Carolina	15	-	15	-	-
South Carolina	11	-	11	-	-
Georgia	9	-	2	-	7
Alabama	5	-	5	-	-
Mississippi	3	-	3	-	-
Louisana	5	-	5	-	-
Kentucky	14	-	14	-	-
Tennessee	11	-	11	-	-
Ohio	16	-	16	-	-
Indiana	5	-	5	-	-
Illinois	3	-	3	-	-
Missouri	3	-	3	-	-
Total	178	83	171	83	7

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